INDIA.

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Indiana.

THE NEXT VICEROY.

In the January number of INDIA—the first of the New Series—I alluded to the rumour that Lord Roberts was destined to return to India as Viceroy. His Highness the Rájá of Kapúrthala, in his eloquent speech at the dinner given to Lord Roberts by the London Chamber of Commerce on 24th May, made a remark which supports this idea. "Should "it be our good fortune," he said, "to have him "(Lord Roberts) with us in India once more, in a "position still more responsible than that which he "has just relinquished, I make bold to assure him "that his return will be welcomed as that of an old "friend." It is obvious that the position alluded to must be that of Viceroy of India. Whether His Highness has any private sources of information I do not know, but his remark is certain to cause the name of Lord Roberts to be widely mentioned in reference to the succession to the Viceroyalty. There are many objections to a soldier holding the government of India. Soldiers have a natural liking for war, and a still more natural desire to spend money for military purposes. But I have heard it stated that if Lord Roberts goes to India as Viceroy he will be entrusted with that high office for the special purpose of reducing military expenditure. It is said that military officers in India will accept from the hands of Lord Roberts wholesale measures of retrenchment which would cause widespread discontent if ordered by a civilian. In his public utterances since his arrival in England Lord Roberts has given no indication of a belief in a possibility of reducing the enormous military charges on India. But it is possible that now his scheme of frontier defences is completed he may be willing to lend his high authority to the reduction of those portions of the Indian army which vastly increase its expense, but do not contribute to its efficiency.

LORD ROBERTS' SPEECH.

Though the Rájá of Kapúrthala's hint as to the future Viceroy was the most striking point in the speeches made at the banquet to Lord Roberts, there was much in the late Commander-in-Chief's own remarks which deserve to be permanently recorded. "Under the various dynasties," he said, "which "governed India previous to our occupation the "people were accustomed to a rapid change of "masters, and were consequently in a state of "perpetual expectancy and unrest. It was the "chief object of those who had accumulated wealth "to conceal and hoard their savings rather than to "invest them in some reproductive industry, and "this unsatisfactory habit is only very gradually "being overcome. At the present day, the effect "of centuries of misgovernment is still apparent; "the people are still inclined to distrust the per-"manence of the paramount power; and, in spite "of the peace and order which we have established, "the wealthier classes, with exceptions which I am "glad to say are steadily becoming more numerous, "still collect and secrete as much of the precious "metals as they can, instead of joining hands with "us in our endeavours to develop the great natural "resources of India. How prevalent this feeling of "uncertainty is, and what a prejudicial effect it "exercises on the national progress, you can judge "from the fact that, according to the estimate of "Mr. O'Conor, Financial Assistant-Secretary to

"the Government of India, 113 millions of gold and "227 millions of silver were absorbed by India "during the 30 years from 1859 to 1889, all the "gold and a large proportion of the silver being "withdrawn from circulation to be hoarded or con- "verted into ornaments. You will understand from "what I have said, how important it is, from a "purely commercial point of view, that the in- "habitants of India should have a firm belief in "the strength and stability of our rule; and this "belief is at least equally desirable on political and "military grounds. It thus becomes a matter of "the utmost moment to convince the native popula- "tion that we have the will and the power to pro- "tect them, and that we are determined to guard "our own interests and to fulfil our engagements." These are wise words, but surely if the British Government of India had been all that its apologists represent it, the people before now would have invested their capital in industrial undertakings. Is the habit of hoarding continued only because the people do not believe in the permanency of British rule, or, are there yet more subtle arguments behind, which induce them to bury their money instead of using it?

THE IMPERIAL INSTITUTE.

India was well to the fore at the grand inaugural ceremony when the Queen-Empress in person opened the Imperial Institute, and also at the reception of the Prince of Wales on the following Wednesday. Every one was agreed that the most gratifying interest was taken in the presence of the Indian Chiefs who supported Her Majesty and of the Indian troopers who escorted her from Buckingham Palace. Indeed the Indian soldiers formed the most popular feature of the grand procession. It has not yet been made clear, however, why India is to pay the expenses of her contingent in London, and I hope Mr. Macfarlane will continue to press the subject in the House of Commons. But the question of permanent interest is whether the Imperial Institute will prove of any service to India and the cause of the Indian people. Anything that brings home to the minds of Englishmen the vastness of India and the variety of its products must be beneficial to the cause of the Indian people. If what they see at the Institute makes visitors reflect or think about India at all, an interest in the methods of its administration may be stirred up which may have a good effect in strengthening the hands of Indian reformers. The article on Indian affairs in the *Times* of 22nd May expounds from the practical side the advantages which are expected to accrue from the Indian exhibits at the Institute. It is there pointed out that these exhibits are intended to form a sort of commentary on Dr. Watt's *Dictionary of the Economic Products of India*. The *Times* gives ungrudging praise to "the learning "and industry" of Dr. Watt, to the energy of Sir Edward Buck, to the assistance of Sir George Birdwood and of Mr. Royle, and concludes with a generous tribute to the services of Mr. Trilokya Nath Mukharji, who has done the actual work of arranging the specimens in the Institute.

THE ABOLITION OF THE PRESIDENTIAL ARMIES.

It will be remarked that the Parliamentary Supplement this month is larger than usual. The House of Commons has been too busy with the Home Rule Bill to pay much attention to India, but the House of Lords has had more time to devote to Indian questions. The most important discussion has been on the abolition of the Presidential armies. It is much to be deplored that the Secretary of State for India declares that this change will not appreciably relieve the burden on the Indian taxpayer. It has been so often said that the change would lead to a diminution of military expenditure, that Lord Kimberley's admission will be received with profound regret. But this advantage at least is gained, that questions of military policy will for the future rest in the hands of one responsible general instead of three. And that, therefore, when an imperative demand is made for the reduction of military expenditure, as it certainly soon will be, there can be no excuse put forth of the necessity of consulting the subordinate commanders-in-chief. This is not much gained, but it is something, and India should be grateful for even this slight tactical advantage.

LORD MAYO'S OPINION.

Lord Mayo's grasp of all Indian questions was so thorough that I should like to put on permanent record his opinion on this subject. Lord Chelmsford, in a letter to the *Times*, written on 5th May, makes the following remarks which ought not to be lost in the columns of a daily paper. I make no apology for reproducing them in full. "Might I be allowed," he writes, "to correct a slight mistake in your report "of my speech last night in the House of Lords on "the second reading of the Madras and Bombay "Armies Bill, where the name of Lord Napier of "Magdala is mentioned instead of, as I thought I "said, that of Lord Mayo? The following extracts "from the letter which Sir Henry Norman wrote to "me on the 23rd of September, 1873, may possibly "be of interest, and will explain what I had "intended to bring out in my speech 'Thanks for "'sending me your scheme for abolishing the minor "'commanders-in-chief, and forming the army in "'the three presidencies into eight large divisions "'or *corps d'armée*. Lord Mayo had much at heart "'the abolition of the Madras and Bombay com- "'mands, and at his instruction I sketched out a "'scheme for four *corps d'armée*, under lieutenant- "'generals, of about 45,000 men each, but other "'business and his death prevented the question "'being taken up. On the whole I am disposed "'to think that your scheme of eight *corps d'armée* "'is better than mine of four.'"

THE RAJA OF MAIMANSINGH'S CASE IN THE HOUSE OF LORDS.

Lord Stanley of Alderley continues to do yeoman service to India in the House of Lords. Lord Kimberley perhaps finds him somewhat troublesome, but India should be grateful. On 8th May Lord

Stanley of Alderley again drew the attention of the House of Lords to the bad result of the union of executive and judicial functions in the same hands, and illustrated his meaning by an exposition of the Rájá of Maimansingh's case. Basing his arguments on Sir Richard Garth's admirable articles in India, he pointed out the flagrant misconduct of Mr. Phillips, and the whitewashing judgment of Sir Charles Elliott. Lord Kimberley begged the question when he stated in reply that financial considerations forbade the separation of executive and judicial functions. If he at once took the bold step of admitting natives of India in far larger numbers into the Covenanted Civil Service and of reducing the expensive European agency to its proper work of supervision, a far larger number of officers could be employed without enhancing the expense. If ten or twelve Englishmen were sent out yearly to recruit the Civil Service instead of forty or fifty, a large sum might be saved which could be utilised for greatly increasing the number of native Indian civilians. The pay of the few Englishmen sent out might then be increased, and their murmurs as to the falling value of the rupee would cease. Such a radical change in the position of the English civilians must take place sooner or later, and the sooner the better.

LORD KIMBERLEY'S DISCLAIMER.

The following remarks of the Secretary of State deserve special attention. It will be seen that he agrees with Sir Richard Garth in his main contention, and that he would be glad to carry out a measure of reform if he can see his way to it. "I desire to "correct," he said, "a misreport of what I said "yesterday in my reply to Lord Stanley of Alderley. "I am reported to have said that I 'in no way "'admitted that Sir Richard Garth was justified in "'saying that it was agreed on all hands that it "'was contrary to right and good principle that the "'civil and judicial powers should be united in one "'person.' I should be very sorry that this should "go out to India as the expression of my opinion on "this important point. On the contrary, I agree "entirely with Sir Richard Garth that the union of "the executive and judicial powers in one person is "generally condemned. What I disagreed from "was a statement of Sir Richard Garth's, quoted by "Lord Stanley, that the union of these powers was "kept up in order to enhance the prestige of the "officers of the Indian Government. I observe, "also, that I am represented as speaking of the "action of Mr. Phillips as a small matter. What I "said was that it was a local matter."

THE OPIUM QUESTION.

Sir William Wedderburn has determined to take advantage of the moving of a resolution against the Opium Revenue, to press his idea that a great commission of enquiry should be appointed to examine impartially the methods of Indian administration. Unfortunately, owing to the Whitsuntide recess, Mr. J. E. Ellis, who had obtained the first place for the Anti-Opium Motion for May 26, was unable to bring it before the House. He was to have moved that: "This House reaffirms the opinion expressed "by its vote of the 10th of April, 1891, during the "last Parliament, that the system by which the "Indian Opium revenue is raised is morally inde- "fensible, and urges on the Indian Government "without further delay to give effect thereto, by "ceasing to grant licenses for the cultivation of the "poppy and sale of Opium in British India, except "to supply the legitimate demand for medical pur- "poses, and by taking measures to arrest the tran- "sit of Málwá Opium through British territory." Sir William Wedderburn intended to have moved the following addition: "And recognising that the "people of India ought not to be called upon to "bear the cost of this righteous act, this House "further resolves that a humble address be pre- "sented to Her Majesty, praying her to appoint a "Commission to enquire, both in India and in this "country, and report what retrenchments and re- "forms can be effected in the military and civil "expenditure of India, by what means Indian "resources can best be developed; and what, if any, "temporary assistance from the British Exchequer "will be needed in order to avoid oppressive taxa- "tion in India, and the stoppage of expenditure "necessary for the welfare and progress of the "Indian people." It is much to be regretted that the opportunity has been lost of pressing upon the House of Commons the need for such a regular inquisition into the affairs of India as used to take place every twenty years, on the renewal of the East India Company's Charter.

THE INDIAN BUDGET.

I hear that concerted action is going to be taken by those members of the House of Commons interested in Indian affairs to urge upon the Government the paramount need of an earlier date and more time for an adequate discussion of the Indian Budget. The postponement of the Indian Budget to the fag-end of the Session has so long been denounced as a scandal that it is really time something was done, and I hope the friends of India mean business this time. Moreover, I trust that definite action in a matter upon which all parties of every shade of opinion are firmly agreed, may become the starting point of more organised effort in Parliament by those who do not allow themselves to forget that our responsibilities to India may not lightly be neglected.

INDIA'S CONGRATULATIONS TO SIR W. WEDDERBURN.

The following short extracts from some of the many congratulatory addresses sent from India to Sir W. Wedderburn upon his election to Parliament, have more than a mere personal interest. They show that strong faith in the justice and good intentions of the English people (as distinct from the bureaucratic spirit of British rule), upon which alone depends the stability of our Indian Empire. With that intuition which seems to belong to a nation collectively, rather than to individuals taken separately, the Indian peoples recognize that in the sympathy of the British Democracy lies their hope of future reform. They believe, and I trust not without

reason, that if only Parliament—a democratic Parliament — shall hear and understand their many grievances, redress will be given. Hence their natural rejoicings at the election of one so qualified to speak with authority on all the questions which are of vital importance to them, as is Sir William Wedderburn.

FROM AHMADNAGAR.

I take the following from an address sent by the inhabitants of Ahmadnagar :—" At this time your " entrance into that august assembly, the final ar- " bitrators of our fate, is a distinct gain to this poor " and unrepresented country. We feel assured that " your long official connection with this country, in " high and varied capacities, and your intimate " knowledge of the wants and aspirations of the " people will enable you to carry great weight in " the House, and strengthen the hands of our " venerated friend and countryman, Mr. Dadabhai " Naoroji. . . . . We respectfully desire you to " convey our warm thanks to the electors of Banff- " shire for their generously having chosen one of " India's best friends as their representative, and " assure them on our behalf that their high-minded " action is calculated in no small measure to draw " closer the ties by which England and India are " held together."

FROM POONA.

From the Address of the Sarvajanik Sabha of Poona, I give the following sentence :—" What it " did not please North Ayrshire to do, Banffshire " has done, and with two trusty champions of her " cause in Parliament, as Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji " and yourself, India must be peculiarly unfortunate " if her grievances fail to attract greater attention " from the legislators and the British public." The above are only typical of others received from Nágpur, Poona, Hubli, and other places. My final quotation is from an address received from Bombay, and I give it because of its lucid enumeration of some of the Indian questions which are pressing for a prompt and an enlightened solution.

FROM BOMBAY.

"It is hardly necessary to remind you that there " are numerous questions of Indian political reform " awaiting the attention of Parliament. As the " official head of the Congress Committee, you are " already fully conversant with the Congress pro- " gramme. The Indian Councils Act, the fruit of " long continued labours, is in its enforcement by " the Indian Government being reduced to a mere " shadow. In Western India especially, the Go- " vernment seems to have taken a particularly timid " attitude, and its scheme of elections is so directly " at variance with the objects of the Act as pro- " pounded by responsible British statesmen in " Parliament, that it has justly caused widespread " discontent. We look up to you and your colleague, " Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji, as representatives of " Western India, to bring this glaring perversity " and narrow mindedness of our administrators to " the notice of Parliament, and to set it right by " timely action. The question of Indian finance is " assuming a threatening aspect. An equal adjust- " ment of financial burdens between India and " England, especially with reference to military " expenditure, home and other charges, is a crying " reform pressing for solution. The condition of " the Indian peasantry and the inelasticity and " severity of the land revenue assessments are " subject which have long engaged your attention. " The policy of starving education, and higher " education in particular, which seems to find favour " with our local Government as well as the Supreme " Government, is another matter which will surely " demand your attention. . . . . In conclusion, we " beg you to convey to the electors of Banffshire " our cordial thanks for the valuable service they " have done us by electing you. They have indeed " secured for themselves an unflinching champion of " their rights ; but they have by the same act con- " ferred upon us the favour of having in Parliament " one who is as true a representative of India as " though our country had the power of sending a " representative on her own behalf."

THE REACTIONARIES IN THE BOMBAY GOVERNMENT.

Nothing can well be more meanly grudging than the rules issued by the Bombay Government for the so-called election of Indian representatives to the Bombay Council. According to local public opinion, Mr. Lee Warner, a Judicial Secretary to the Government, is the *real* author of these discreditable rules, against which I am glad to see that the people of Poona, Bombay, and elsewhere have been vigorously protesting. In the last number of INDIA I printed the representation of the Poona Sarvajanik Sabha on this subject, and in the present number I publish a Memorial from the inhabitants of Bombay. The whole object of the rules is manifestly to make of no effect the pledges given in both Houses by statesmen of both parties ; and when I remember Mr. Gladstone's emphatic words, that the people of England would be gravely disappointed if the Indian Councils Amendment Act was not so worked as to secure a real representation of the people of India, I confess to a feeling of surprise that now the Liberal party is in power such hypocritical rules are tolerated for one moment. One single example will suffice. Poona and the Deccan, embracing a vast number of the most highly-educated and public-spirited Indians, are allowed no representative. Why? Because they are advanced reformers, and have long since renounced Mr. Lee Warner and all his works. The member that should have been theirs has been given to the Karáchi Chamber of Commerce, an European body of no practical importance, composed chiefly, if not exclusively, of agents of Bombay houses, who already have one member to represent them from the Bombay Chamber of Commerce.

THE KHAN OF KHELAT.

I fear that the real root of the troubles in Khelát is very imperfectly realised in England. The fact is that the Indian Government have been pressing the Khán to make, or join in making or allow to be

made, a line of railway through his territories in the direction of Sistan, so as to enable them to take the Russians in flank in the event of their advancing from Herát, and possibly to defend Herát, 800 miles from our true base, against the Russians. Were the Khán to concede this line, it would be to place himself and his people, bound hand and foot, in our power. It would mean the annexation of Balúchistán *pur et simple*. Many of the Khán's officials, corrupted by the influence (if not the gold and promises) of our Indian Agency, have been pressing him and worrying him to consent to the proposed arrangement; and if now the Khán really has killed a number of these as traitors to himself and to their country, no one need be surprised. In the rough and ready state of society that exists in Balúchistán, sudden death is the usual meed of those who intrigue to overthrow the State, and if the Khán has killed these intriguers against his own power and the integrity of his State, he has, according to oriental views of statecraft, been guilty of no crime, but has summarily administered that justice which he, in common with other Eastern Potentates, believes he has a right to administer.

THE WOLF AND THE LAMB.

No doubt the Government of India will depose the Khán, and place on the throne some pliable creature of their own, and no doubt before doing so, they will cause the most horrid stories to be circulated about his iniquities and monstrosities, so that poor John Bull will, grudgingly, assent to this new crime, believing that he is thereby removing a perfect monster, unfit to have rule anywhere. This was the policy adopted in the case of poor Thebau, king of Burma, when Lord Dufferin, alarmed at the influence that he fancied the French were obtaining in Upper Burma, determined to annex it. The Anglo-Indian papers teemed with the vilest accusations against Thebau. He was a confirmed drunkard, a lecherous debauchee, and he had murdered all his relatives. Within a year of his deposition, it became known that the man had never in his life touched a drop of alcoholic liquor, and was a perfectly pure living man, deeply attached to his two wives who never left him. As to the so-called murder of relatives, he had no sort of personal responsibility. Pretenders to the throne of Burma had in the past given so much trouble, that it had become the *rule*, a fixed part of the national policy, always after the formal investiture of a new king to dispose gradually, as opportunity occurred, of all his relatives (who did not become priests) who could possibly at any time set up a counter claim to the throne. I do not justify the rule, but Thebau had no more responsibility for it than the reader has, and it was carried out not by his special orders, but by his Council as a matter of course. But Lord Dufferin meant to annex Upper Burma, and hence the flood of calumnies which swept poor Thebau from his throne. We may expect a similar intrigue where the Khán of Khelát is concerned.

AGRARIAN LEGISLATION FOR THE DECCAN.

On the 18th May, Sir Raymond West read a most valuable and interesting paper on "Agrarian Legis-"lation for the Deccan and its results" before the Indian Section of the Society of Arts. Sir James Fergusson, a former Governor of Bombay and a member of the late Government, was in the chair. The paper should be read at length in the proceedings of the Society of Arts; I have only space to call attention to it here. In his concluding paragraph Sir Raymond West made an allusion to Sir William Wedderburn's scheme of agricultural banks in India, and stated the conclusions to which he himself had arrived. He expressed himself strongly in favour of people's banks. He said: "It is to such institutions, rather than to direct "Government aid, that I would look as a means of "social regeneration in India. I say social regenera-"tion, because in India and in the Deccan, at least "as much as in Europe, the moral factor is the most "important one, even in the economical problems. "A study of the working of the co-operative "societies in Germany or Italy shows that, by "mutual vigilance and social pressure, the worthless "members of the borrowing-class are weeded out, "while those who, by nature, would hover on the "verge of thriftlessness, are kept on the right side "of the boundary, and preserved as honourable and "steady members of the industrial community. No "system of takávi advances by Government, no "banking on the mere principle of profit-making, "can be compared for stimulating efficacy with the "associations in which every member is concerned "to support and improve the character and capacity "of all his fellows. Such associations, at their in-"ception, need a guiding and eulogising influence. "They need almost no external capital. The large "extent of land acquisition, the ever-growing "amount of loans on mortgage by ráyats themselves "in the Deccan, proves that there is money enough "within the class were it but properly utilised."

THE CRICKET CAREER OF AN INDIAN PRINCE.

Two of the Káthiáwár Princes have been conspicuous in connection with the opening of the Imperial Institute. The name of a third is pretty well known to all lovers of sport, specially to those who take any interest in English cricket. Kumar Shri Ranjitsinhji has already made a great reputation in that famous English pastime, and his splendid play for Cambridge University during the present term has been generally noticed. I do not think that I am running any risk if I venture to predict that he will get his blue this year, he being about the best man among the new hands tried. Ranjitsinhji is a Rájput prince of Járeja descent, a very near relative of the reigning prince of Nawánagar or Jámnagar, one of the largest of the feudatory states in Káthiáwár. He was educated at Rájkumár College in Rájkot, and afterwards entered Trinity College, Cambridge. Even when in India he was distinguished as an unrivalled batsman. He came to England in 1888, and joined Trinity College in 1890. In 1891 he easily won his college colours, but it was the next year that he made his name in the cricket field. He was tried in the Seniors' match that year, and his form was exceptionally good. In

53 innings he made 2,409 runs, or an average of 54 per innings. He scored eleven centuries and a total of 1,411 runs, the highest score being 150. This year he played in the Seniors' match again, and since then has been playing in all the matches for the 'Varsity, and he is announced as going to play in the next one as the paper is going to press. He has played five innings as yet, in one of which he was not out, with a total of 91 runs, and an average of 23 per innings. The highest score he made was 40. His play is characterised by very superior defence as a batsman, and by superior fielding. Besides cricket, Ranjitsinhji is a very good hand at other sports. He could easily have got his half-blue in tennis or rackets, in both of which he has distinguished himself. He is a very good marksman, and has a very steady aim in game shooting. The election of an Indian as a Blue, or member of a University eleven, will be hailed with delight by all friends of India, as a sign of the physical regeneration of that country, and of its success in one of the most famous all-round athletic pastimes. It shows also how thoroughly young Indians, who come to England for their education, enter into the favourite pursuits of young Englishmen, and can take their part with the best of them.

ELECTION OF THE PRESIDENT OF THE CONGRESS TO THE BENGAL COUNCIL.

At the last moment intelligence reaches me of the election of Mr. W. C. Bonnerjee, the President of the Indian National Congress, by the Calcutta University, to a seat on the Bengal Council. This is a very important success for the Reform Party in India; for though Mr. Bonnerjee is in every respect an incomparably superior man to Mr. Rajkumar Sarvadhikari, who opposed him, the latter was none the less supported by the whole weight of Government interest, and the whole body of toadies who hang on to the skirts of that Government in view to appointments, promotions, and poly-literal distinctions. In fact the contest was practically between the Congress on the one hand, and Mr. Risley of the Bengal Secretariat, with the entire Government following, on the other. Mr. Bonnerjee's success is the more remarkable in that he himself, though he consented to stand, did so on the distinct understanding that he would not canvass for votes in the slightest degree, but would base his hope of success upon the knowledge possessed by every educated man in India of his services to the Congress.

H. Morse Stephens.

JUSTICE IN INDIA.

Babu Ram Gopal Sanyal published some five years ago in Calcutta a little volume on the history of celebrated criminal cases, with the resolutions recorded on them by the Provincial and Supreme Governments. He is also favourably known by his Life of Kristodas Pal, and he has now completed an important work entitled "A Record of Criminal Cases as between Europeans and Natives for the last Sixty Years." This last book is largely filled with quotations from the *Bengalee*, the *Hindu Patriot*, and other newspapers, describing some leading criminal cases. The work needed to be done. Many are the accusations that have been made against the administration of justice in India. Many have been the assertions that English magistrates and judges show a shameful partiality in cases in which their own countrymen are concerned; and it is satisfactory at last to be enabled to deal with recorded facts instead of with mere assertions.

Now that at last we have a list of presumably the worst instances of partiality which have occurred in recent years, it is possible to form some opinion on this vexed question. The first feeling in studying this record is one of surprise that the compiler has been able to find so few flagrant instances of racial partiality. Assuming, as we have every right to assume, that these cases are the worst the compiler could find, it is astonishing that they are not more in number. Their fewness seems to be the best evidence of the real impartiality of the very great majority of English judicial officers in India. This is as it should be. A feeling of profound dissatisfaction would have been caused by the discovery that the reckless accusations too often levelled against the administration of justice in India were well founded. But, alas! there are but too many instances of a miscarriage of justice in this volume. Though they are few compared with what might have been expected after the loud outcry that has been made, there are yet far too many to be agreeable to a strict and impartial mind. In only too many of the cases cited the punishment meted out to English offenders seems absurdly inadequate for the offence for which they were convicted, and in more than one instance application was made to the High Courts for an enhancement of punishment. Perhaps it would be too much to expect English officials in India to be relentlessly stern towards their own compatriots; but if leniency may be natural it is very far from being commendable. To every thinking mind it would seem that an Englishman should be even more severely punished for an assault upon a native than for an assault upon one of his own countrymen, for every Englishman in India is placed in an invidious position of superiority which should make him doubly careful. For it is not only his own reputation but the reputation of his nation which he imperils by maltreating one of his native fellow-subjects.

There can be no satisfaction in quoting individual cases of the mild manner in which only too many assaults upon natives, often ending in their death have been treated by English magistrates. It is enough to say that Babu Ram Gopal Sanyal has proved his case up to the hilt, and shown that in many cases, though not in so many as might have been expected from the reckless statements so often made, real injustice has been done. He gives chapter and verse for numerous homicides, but can only record two instances of Europeans suffering capital punishment for murdering natives. Of course it is impossible to investigate his cases one by one in these pages, but it will be sufficient to refer those who pride themselves too much on the judicial administration in India to the little volume in which they are recorded. In conclusion it seems to us that by no means the least important part of this

book is its preface. In it Babu Ram Gopal Sanyal expresses the attitude of mind which an educated Indian, even after being engaged in compiling such a work, adopts towards the British rule in India. It will be seen that he scrupulously guards himself from any indictment against the English judicial authorities as a whole, and expresses his attachment for British rule. He does not condemn the English in India as a body, but only accuses them of too frequent impartiality towards their countrymen.

But the preface speaks best for itself: "In presenting this book to the reader, I desire to guard "against a misconception which the publication of "a work like this may give rise to. An initial difficulty meets one on the very threshold. The question may be asked, Why rake up the bitter "memories of old controversies which are fast "receding from the public view and which are well-"nigh forgotten—what useful purpose can be served "by investing them with a new life by bringing to "a focus the stray cases which formed the subject-"matter of those controversies? I am not insensible "to this consideration, and am prepared to attach "considerable weight to it. If in spite of it I have "ventured upon this publication, it must be for "reasons which have satisfied me, and which, I "trust, will be considered sufficient by the reader. "All must gratefully admit that the British Govern-"ment in India is the very best government that we "have ever had in the history of the country. Barring "periods of repression and reaction, such as we are "now passing through, the Government is steadily "progressive in its tendencies; and if it compares "unfavourably with the beneficence and liberality "which shed its halo over the reign of Akbar and "his immediate successors, it has never been stained "by the excesses which darkened the brightest periods "of Mughal rule. It is essentially a civilised ad-"ministration, endeavouring to assimilate itself to "great ideals, and ennobled by the impulse which "the free institutions of England cannot fail to im-"part to it. The most autocratic Englishman is "after all an Englishman; and in his most reckless "course downwards his native instincts of freedom "do not wholly desert him, unless it be in those "exceptional cases where arbitrary authority has "wholly demoralised an administrator. The system "of justice which has been established in this country "under British rule has on the whole answered its "purposes in the vast majority of cases. That it has "not been successful in every class of cases is no dis-"credit to it; for even the best of human institutions "are not perfect, and the greatest of nations must count "unworthy members in their ranks. If these pages "disclose Europeans in a somewhat unfavourable "light, it is to be remembered that the men who "figure in the criminal courts are the scum of society, "and that it would be unfair to judge of a com-"munity by its least worthy members. We have "remarked that the system of administration of "justice which has been established under British "rule is fairly effective in the vast majority of cases. "The impression, however, is widespread that it has "not been equally successful in those cases where "Europeans are charged with acts of violence com-"mitted upon natives of the country. This is the "one theme which has been persistently harped "upon by the Native press, which has furnished "subject-matter for cart-loads of newspaper writing; "but all in vain. The complaint has to be repeated "now, as it had to be repeated ten or twenty years "ago. It was made by Hurrish Chunder Mukher-"jee; it was repeated by Kristo Das Pal; it is "being emphasized upon by men upon whom their "mantle has fallen, by Indian journalists of all shades "of religious and political opinion, by men like Sam-"bhoo Chunder Mukherjee, Sisir Kumar Ghose, "Narendra Nath Sen, and Surendra Nath Banerjea. "But theirs is a voice crying in the wilderness. The "cases occur; the ends of justice are too often "frustrated. It is idle to hope for the application "of the remedy from the public opinion of this "country. It was suggested so far back as 1883, in "the first National Conference that ever was held, "that these cases should be put together in the form "of a book, and an appeal made on the strength of "them to the consciences of the British people. I "have endeavoured to give effect to this idea, in the "hope of rendering some service to my countrymen, "and without the smallest idea of reflecting upon "the character of Englishmen in India as a class, or "of traducing the Government which has conferred "such great benefits upon the people of India."

THE FINANCIAL CRISIS OF 1893.

MAY, as well as April, has been a month of deep anxiety in financial quarters, witnessing a continuance of the crash of Australian banks, where the catastrophe has attained unprecedented proportions, perhaps not as to number, but as to the amounts involved in the fourteen bank-suspensions that have occurred since the beginning of the year. There have been bank crises in various times and in different parts of the world; but even the mother country has never had such a wholesale collapse as that of institutions with aggregate liabilities to shareholders and the public of over 112 millions sterling.

The deposit liabilities of those banks that have suspended are as given below:

1893. Suspended.		Banks.	Deposit Colonial. £	Deposit British. £
January	30.	—Federal Bank of Australia, Ltd. ...	1,522,000	435,000
April	4.	—Commercial of Australia, Ltd. ...	6,309,000	5,638,000
,,	12.	—Eng. Scott. and Australian Chtd. ...	4,863,000	895,000
,,	20.	—Australian Joint Stock, Sp. Act. ...	6,833,000	4,008,000
,,	25.	—London Chart. of Australia (R.C.) ...	3,190,000	3,400,000
,,	28.	Standard Bank of Australia	530,000	270,000
,,	29.	National of Australasia, Sp. Act. ...	7,056,000	1,805,000
May	5.	—Colonial of Australasia, Sp. Act. ...	3,365,000	160,000
,,	9.	—Bank of Victoria, Sp. Act.	5,474,000	1,583,000
,,	15.	—Queensland National, Ltd....	4,089,000	4,438,000
,,	15.	—Bank of North Queensland, Ltd. ...	325,000	26,000
,,	15.	—Commercial of Sydney, Sp. Act. ...	10,960,000	485,000
,,	16.	—City of Melbourne, Ltd.	1,667,000	3,261,000
,,	17.	—Royal Bank of Queensland, Ltd. ...	778,000	21,000
			£56,661,000	26,425,000

Total Deposits	£83,086,000
,, Notes	2,517,000
,, Bills	5,946,000
,, Paid up Capital	9,072,000
,, Uncalled ,, ...	11,797,000
Liability of 14 banks	**£112,418,000**

One of the most remarkable features, however, in connection with this unprecedented collapse has been the absence of sympathetic effect on Indian securities. In the stock markets prices gave way in pretty well all directions during May, although there was such a remarkable degree of steadiness in the previous month. But in the Indian market there were no appreciable changes. India Sterling Stocks were both metaphorically and as a matter of fact as steady as Consols. Indeed the fluctuations in British 2¾ per Cents. were on a greater scale than those in India 3 per cent. Stock; and though investors took fright in the market for Colonial Inscribed Government Securities there was no extension of the alarm to Indian Stocks. India Threes have been at a shave over 100, and an early new sterling loan is looked for. In some directions the fall in the Colonial department attained huge proportions when a contrast is made with the prices of two or three years ago. Only about that period in the past Queensland and Victoria 3½ per cent. Inscribed Stocks stood at the quotations of 103 to 105. At the worst, about the middle of May this year, the prices receded to below 80 for Victoria and to as low as 73 for Queensland Stock—declines respectively of about 25 and 30. Although the flurry in the Stock markets extended to even mining shares, and there was quite a collapse in the South African department, Indian mine shares gave way only by ⅛ to ¼, and very quickly rallied part of that small extent of decline. There was a little disturbance in the market for bank shares; but having regard to the fact that such securities as the shares of the London and Westminster Bank declined fully £10 as between the highest and the lowest prices of the period covered by the bank collapse in Australia, Indian bank shares only dipped to a very slight extent indeed. In a word, Indian securities have been outside the sphere of disturbance. The changes in Government, railway, bank, miscellaneous and mining securities of Indian origin have really been unimportant. Indirectly, undoubtedly, the collapse in Australia must have sooner or later some malign effect on trade in general, and to some slight extent on trade in India; but in regard to the stock markets there appears to be no ground for apprehension that Indian issues, apart from silver securities, are likely to suffer at all correspondingly to other departments of the markets.

The reference to silver brings up the subject of the influences affecting the market for the white metal. During the month the quotation of bar silver has been at or within a very trifling amount of the lowest quotation on record. The development of events in the United States favours the view taken by usually well-informed people, who express the opinion that the Government at Washington is permitting matters to drift, as by so doing the Western farmers and silver party in the United States is being educated up to the view that the continuance of the silver policy which was deliberately adopted three years ago cannot be persisted in. Opinions are very divided, however, as to what will be the influence on the silver market of a discontinuance of the purchases of silver by the U.S. Treasury at the present rate of 4½ million ounces per month. Some of the very best informed people offer the decided opinion that after a temporary spasm of further depression in the market for silver there will actually occur a rally to a higher quotation than that at present prevailing. But just as decided an opinion is expressed by people whose views are entitled to consideration that the day of the repeal of the Sherman Act in the United States will witness a further drastic reduction in the quotation of silver, and that it will take many years and various surrounding circumstances to occur to lift the price up to anything near the present level. Naturally the thought arises that when doctors disagree it is difficult for any outsider to come to a conclusion. It is therefore safer on our part to reserve any decided opinion of our own, though we are inclined to take the view that a lower level is likely to be witnessed. We should feel much stronger on this point were it not for the development of gold production in all parts of the world, and in especial the looming great increase in the gold production of South Africa. So far as the actual results from this new gold-field are concerned, it has to be recollected that virtually the whole of the production has been in one small district, in Witwatersrandt. But if what is alleged with regard to discoveries north of the Transvaal turns out to be accurate—those discoveries being in territory under British sway—we have only seen a comparative scratching of the surface in comparison to what is to be witnessed. It has been proved that reefs exist in Mashonaland of 400 miles in extent, and where those reefs have been tested by actual sinking operations the gold is represented to be in greater quantity the deeper the borings are made. This, however, by the way, except that those people who are interested in the silver question must not shut their eyes to the effect that would be witnessed on the silver market if there were a great development in the production of gold. Silver as measured by gold might be very different from what it is now.

Again, having referred to gold, we may turn to the satisfactory results being achieved in the Colar district by all the companies save one. The aggregate output of gold of five companies whose detailed figures we set out below reaches over 69,000 ounces in the first four months of this year, and this total contrasts with about 47,000 ounces in the corresponding four months of 1892. This increase of over 22,000 ounces is 47 per cent., and the most important increase of the companies which we may regard as long established is in the case of the Ooregum Company. Both in crushings and treatment of tailings there has been a gain of close to 60 per cent., the total production of the company being 25,452 ounces against 15,029 ounces in the first four months of 1892. The Champion Reef Company was not at work a year ago, and consequently produced nothing against which the figures of 8,203 ounces for the first four months of the present year can be compared. The Balaghat Company also shows an enormous percentage gain, but then this company is comparatively speaking in a very small way just now. The Champion promises to march ahead with steady progress, and the Mysore and Ooregum are

showing splendid results. The figures are of such interest that we give them in detail below.

		1893.		1892.
		oz.		oz.
Mysore Crushings	..	21,248	..	18,594
,, Tailings	..	3,737	..	2,019
Total	..	24,985	..	20,613
Ooregum Crushings	..	19,991	..	13,900
,, Tailings	..	3,461	..	1,129
Total	..	23,452	..	15,029
Nundydroog Crushings		8,198	..	9,642
,, Tailings		910	..	448
Total	..	910	..	448
Balaghat, total	..	3,402	..	1,220
Champion ,,	..	8,203	..	nil.
Grand total	..	69,150	..	46,952

Some of the people connected with the London Chamber of Commerce have apparently been impelled by force of circumstances to extend the *Chamber of Commerce Journal* into a weekly illustrated journal to be called *Commerce*. By arrangement with the London Chamber of Commerce who are the proprietors of the *Chamber of Commerce Journal*, that organ will from the 1st July next be merged in the new weekly paper. The proprietors of the new paper mention that engineering in general, and British engineering in particular, will receive the ample attention they deserve. It is contended in the newspaper world that it is rather hard on the proprietors of such magnificent journals as the *Engineer* and *Engineering*, not to mention other papers, that private enterprise should be competed with in this way. Those who are to run the new journal claim that they have touch with the Chambers of Commerce, Boards of Trade, etc., throughout the world; and as regards the East they represent that they have correspondents in Batavia, Hong Kong, Foochow, Singapore, Saigon, Colombo, Karáchi, Bombay, Rangoon, Tokio, Yokohama and Manila.

Indian National Congress:

BRITISH COMMITTEE.

Letter from Sir William Wedderburn, Bart., M.P., Chairman of the British Committee of the Indian National Congress, to the Right Hon. the Earl of Kimberley, K.G., H.M. Principal Secretary of State, India Office, S.W., (enclosing a statement of the case of the Statutory Civilians discussed in the April number of INDIA, pp. 104-106, 108-112).

MY LORD,—The British Committee of the Indian National Congress are desirous of drawing your lordship's attention to the case of the Statutory Civilians in India, who claim, upon what appear substantial grounds, to be members of the Covenanted Civil Service. The facts are briefly as follows:—

2. Under the Act of 1870 (33 Vict., c. 3), and the rules of 1879 made in pursuance of that Act, a number of Indian gentlemen entered the service of the Crown in the belief, based upon the assurances of the Government of India, that they became members of the Indian Covenanted Civil Service, entitled to promotion by length of service and good conduct, like other Covenanted Civil Servants. These gentlemen were led to understand by the words of the Act and the terms of their appointment that the Act of 1870 with the rules of 1879 were a complete substitute for the competitive examination as a means of admission to the Covenanted Civil Service, *vide* the Notifications of the Government of India, documents vii. and viii., printed at page 22 of the accompanying pamphlet.

3. Notwithstanding these assurances by the Government of India, who during the years 1880-89 continued to treat the statutory civilians in every respect as Covenanted Civilians, these officers have been informed that they are not members of an organised service, but merely the holders of specific appointments, and are urged to go into the new Provincial Service which is being formed, and which is inferior to the Covenanted Service in status and in the number and value of the high appointments. Whether they elect to remain the holders of specific appointmente, or whether they elect to join the Provincial Service, their position will be very inferior to that which they have hitherto held as members of the Covenanted Civil Service.

4. The full details of the case are set forth in the accompanying pamphlet. And the Committee trust that on a consideration of all the circumstances your lordship will be pleased to pass such orders as will safeguard the interests of these officers and prevent the disappointment of their just expectation.

I have, my Lord,
The honour to be your Lordship's
Most obedient Servant,
11*th May*, 1893. (Signed) W. WEDDERBURN,
Chairman.
Offices of the British Committee
of the Indian National Congress,
84 & 85, Palace Chambers,
Westminster, S.W.

Documents.

THE REGULATIONS UNDER THE INDIAN COUNCILS ACT.

MEMORIAL FROM THE CENTRAL PROVINCES.

Nágpur, dated the 2nd May, 1893.

To the Right Honourable the EARL OF KIMBERLEY, K.G., Her Majesty's Principal Secretary of State for India in Council.

Bearing 833 signatures.

The Humble Memorial of the undersigned residents of Nágpur that could not attend the public meeting of Nágpur residents, held at Nágpur on the 19th April, 1893,

Respectfully showeth,

1. That your Memorialists have read with great disappointment that part of the speech of His Excellency the Viceroy and Governor-General of India made on 16th March, 1893, in the Supreme Legislative Council, explanatory of the proposals the Government

of India had submitted for your Lordship's approval under section 1 (4) of the Indian Councils Act, 1892, in connection with the framing of regulations of procedure to be followed in nominating additional members to the Supreme Legislative Council, wherein it is pointed out that, under ordinary circumstances, the Central Provinces, as one of those provinces that have no Provincial Legislative Councils, will not be entitled to recommend any gentleman for a seat on the Supreme Legislative Council.

2. That your Memorialists beg leave to point out that the Central Provinces ought, in justice to the large interests involved, to be allowed to participate in the benefits likely to accrue from the proposals regarding the expansion of the Legislative Councils, and in order that the people of these Provinces may be in a position to do so, they should have the right to recommend at least one gentleman for a seat on the Supreme Legislative Council.

3. That your Memorialists respectfully submit that the Central Provinces are entitled to at least one seat on the Supreme Legislative Council for the following, amongst other, reasons.

(I.) Although there is no Provincial Legislative Council for the Central Provinces, yet all Acts passed by the Supreme Legislative Council are, as a rule, made applicable to the people of the Central Provinces who have, however, no voice in their enactment.

(II.) No initiative, except at the instance of the Government, for introducing any bill into the Supreme Legislative Council for the benefit of the people of the Central Provinces can be taken unless they have their own representative on the Council.

(III.) If the Central Provinces are excluded from participating in this privilege, no questions regarding the affairs of these Provinces are likely to be asked in the Supreme Legislative Council. This is likely to increase, rather than remove or diminish, the misunderstanding that at present prevails, or may hereafter, arise amongst the people, with respect to many important matters regarding the administration of the affairs of these Provinces or the policy of Government in relation thereto; and thus the object with which the right of interpellation has been conferred will, so far as these Provinces are concerned, be frustrated.

(IV.) Without taking into consideration the Feudatory States, the area of the Central Provinces is 65,460,221 acres, with a constantly increasing population of 10,784,294. The density of population per square mile in the Central Provinces is 125, while that of the Bombay Presidency is 139. Thus as regards population these Provinces are not far behind those where Provincial Legislative Councils have been established.

(V.) The number of scholars receiving education at the public schools was 114,157 on 31st March, 1892, against 79,551 on 31st March, 1881, giving an increase of 34,839, or 44 per cent., within eleven years. This shows that these Provinces are making rapid progress in education, and will ere long be quite on a par with the other Provinces, which have had the advantage of an earlier start.

(VI.) The Government Revenue from all sources is Rs. 1,60,35,689, including Rs. 70,15,073 on account of land revenue, which, it is expected, will almost be doubled when the operations regarding re-settlement of land-revenue now in progress are completed.

(VII.) Besides, the Municipal Revenue is Rs. 12,89,491, and the revenue of the District Councils and the Local Boards is Rs. 7,79,784.

(VIII.) There are 56 Municipal Committees with 891 elected members and 245 nominated ones, the percentage of elected members being 78. Fifty-five of these committees elect their own Presidents and Vice-Presidents. This compares favourably with other Provinces. In the whole of the Bombay Presidency, for instance, there are only two Municipal Committees that enjoy the privilege of electing their Presidents and Vice-Presidents; and in the North Western Provinces and Oudh, even on such important committees as those of Allâhâbâd, Agra and Lucknow this privilege has not been conferred.

(IX.) There are 17 District Councils and 48 Local Boards. Elected members on the former are 230, and nominated ones 80, the percentage of the elected ones being 74. On the Local Boards there are 661 elected members and 161 nominated ones, giving 80 as percentage for the former. All these District Councils and Local Boards elect their own Presidents and Vice-Presidents.

(X.) The system of election is not foreign to the feelings and habits of the people here, as is evident, not only by the fact that the Local Self-Government which was granted formally during Lord Ripon's Administration, has been a success in the Central Provinces, but also from the official opinion given in the Report submitted by Sir John Morris, the then Chief Commissioner of the Central Provinces, to Lord Ripon's Administration, that the germs of Local Self-Government had existed in the Central Provinces for a long time, and the working of Local Fund Committees had been successful.

(XI.) There are six cotton-mills with a working capital of about 60 lakhs, owned, managed, and worked by the natives of the country, besides a number of cotton-presses; and in point of general trade and industry the Provinces are also not behind.

(XII.) These Provinces have been opened by Railway communications, and now occupy a very important position in the Empire.

(XIII.) Owing to the private and public liberality of the people of the Central Provinces, the following institutions and works of public utility have come into existence; namely, two Colleges, six High Schools, six Town Halls, and three Water Works.

4. That your Memorialists beg respectfully to submit that these Provinces do not compare unfavourably with other Provinces in the Empire where Provincial Legislative Councils have been established, in point of density of population, Government Revenue of all sorts, working of the Local Self-Government, diffusion of Education, commercial and industrial progress and last, though not least, enlightened public spirit of the people.

5. And your Memorialists conclude this with the prayer that your Lordship may be so pleased as to alter the regulations to such an extent as should enable the Central Provinces to recommend, when other parts of the country are required to do so, at least one representative for nomination as member of the Supreme Legislative Council.

And for this act of kindness your Memorialists, as in duty bound, will ever pray.

Narain Swamy,

Chairman of the public meeting of Nágpur residents, held at Nágpur on 19th April, 1893, Pleader, Central Provinces and Berár, Landlord, President, Municipal Committee, and Secretary, District Council, Nágpur.

MEMORIAL FROM BOMBAY.

To His Excellency the Right Hon. George Robert Canning, Baron Harris, G.C.I.E., etc., etc., Governor and President in Council, Bombay.

The humble Memorial of the Inhabitants of Bombay in Public Meeting assembled.

Respectfully Showeth,

That your Memorialists have observed with feelings of regret and disappointment the Rules framed by your Excellency's Government, and published in the *Bombay Government Gazette* on 30th March last, for giving effect to the Regulations made by the Governor-General in Council under Section 1 (4) of the Indian Council's Act of 1892 for Bombay, and approved by the Secretary of State in Council, as notified by the Government of India in their Notification, No. 359, dated the 17th March, 1893.

2. Your Memorialists are not unaware of the terms of that Act, and the extent to which the Government of India have been free in the first instance to deal with its provisions by means of the rules promulgated by them. As far, however, as the strength of additional members of the Bombay Legislative Council is concerned, the maximum number of twenty has been fixed by the Act. It does not appear whether the Government intend to avail themselves of the maximum number of additional members. The only indication of their views is, that, of the additional members not more than nine shall be officials and that eight of the seats shall be filled up by election. It is possible that, in addition to the eight elected members, Government intend to appoint twelve more by nomination. If this is the case, we beg Government to make their intentions clear. But we presume Government entertain no such intention, and we greatly regret if it should be so. The sister Presidency of Bengal, and the North-Western Provinces and Oudh have obtained the maximum number respectively allowed to them by the Act. Bombay, we venture to submit, may claim at least equal treatment with the sister Provinces, for, it is to be hoped, that she is not considered backward as compared to either of them. The Government of the North-Western Provinces have shown marked generosity, considering that the institutions of the Legislative Council and the University in that Province are of recent origin. We venture to assert, however, that the Governments of those Provinces have shown true statesmanship and wisdom in fixing on the maximum number. We cannot but regret that counsels of so retrograde a character should have prevailed in a Presidency which possesses in your Excellency a Governor who has more than once declared himself proud of its advanced and enlightened condition. The effect of such an unfortunate policy clearly manifests itself in what your Memorialists may be permitted to call the extremely loose, illogical, and unsatisfactory scheme of election announced by your Government.

3. In its Memorial submitted to Government in November last, the Bombay Presidency Association suggested that the total number of additional members should be fixed at twenty, the maximum allowed by the Act, and that twelve of these should be eligible by election by different constituencies. Government has thought fit not to accept that suggestion, and has allowed only eight seats for election. The inadequacy of such a limited number is well seen in the necessarily anomalous character of the distribution of the eight seats. The Municipalities of the Northern Division and the Local Boards of the Southern are allowed one representative. Thus the Local Boards of the Northern Division and the Municipalities of the Southern are to be unrepresented, while the Central Division gets no representation at all, either for its Municipalities or Local Boards! The Municipalities represent the urban population and the Local Boards the rural. It is difficult to imagine why the rural population of one division should be represented while that of another should not. Similarly, it is equally difficult to conceive why the urban population of one division should be represented, while that of another is not. The exclusion of the Central Division from all representation is utterly inexplicable on any point of view or principle whatever. It is all the more indefensible, especially as the Central Division stands far in advance of all the other divisions in the Presidency in every respect—in area population, revenue, education, and, we may venture to add, public spirit. There is one seat given to the Deccan Sardars, which may possibly be pleaded as affording representation to the Central Division. The Sardars are an estimable body, and as representing the old aristocracy of the country may well deserve to have a member for themselves. But in a comprehensive scheme they can hardly be said to represent the rural and urban population in the British territory of the Central Division. Bombay City will have three members to represent it. But here, too, the Native mercantile and industrial interest is left absolutely without representation. The Corporation and the University will represent the wealth and intelligence of Bombay, but the equally important interests of trade and industry cannot be said to be represented by one

member recommended by the Chamber of Commerce. The Chamber has long enjoyed the privilege of sending a member to the Council, and we have nothing to say against it. But we venture to point out that the Chamber is at present composed of members who for the most part may be described as Commission Agents. Several of the firms are branches of continental houses, and some of them are solicitors, who cannot, by any stretch of language, be called merchants. Thus, valuable as have been the services of the Chamber in times past, it can hardly be said under present conditions altogether to occupy the place which might entitle it to be considered the sole and sufficient representative of Bombay trade and industry. The great bulk of the real business is in the hands of Native merchants, the mill-owners, the piece-goods dealers, and others, and it is this class of men that, we submit, deserve to have some representation of their own. In Sind, again, the Chamber of Commerce is given one member. This Chamber, we beg to point out, is a mere adumbration of the Chamber in Bombay. It is composed mostly of members of firms, which are branch houses of firms in Bombay. The purely local firms do not exceed half-a-dozen as may be seen from the annexed table. With such a constitution, it hardly needs to be said, that the effect of giving a member to the Karáchi Chamber of Commerce is to bestow a double privilege on the Bombay Chamber, a privilege out of all proportion to the inadequate representation assigned to other immeasurably larger interests.

4. This arrangement will not fail to strike the Government itself as anomalous and grossly imperfect, and we do not think it will cause much surprise to Government that it has caused widespread dissatisfaction. The Indian Councils Act and the exposition it received in Parliament had raised hopes of a genuine and substantial representation of all important interests, and we humbly crave leave to point out that the purpose of that Act as expounded in Parliament and in later despatches and speeches of some of the highest Indian authorities will be ill-served if the present scheme is allowed to stand.

5. On two other points we beg to invite your Lordship's reconsideration. The present administrative divisions of the Presidency are, we conceive, unsuitable for purposes of election. Community of language will, we apprehend, supply a better test, and in that view Thána and Kolába of the Northern Division and Ratnagiri of the Southern, may, we think, be grouped with the Central Division, while Sholápur and Bijápur may be classed with the Southern. With regard to the machinery and procedure of elections, instead of entrusting them to Commissioners or other officials, we think, it would be preferable in every way to appoint special officers unconnected with the service of Government to conduct them. We further think that the voting should under the circumstances of the country be by ballot, a system, we observe, which has commended itself to the Government of Bengal.

6. We pray, therefore, that in view of the difficulties and anomalies we have pointed out, your Excellency's Government will move the Government of India to re-consider the limits imposed by the rules framed by His Excellency the Viceroy. The public of this Presidency consider it an undeserved slur upon their education, public spirit, and political advancement that they have been treated so illiberally in the matter of elective representation to the Council; and they respectfully look to your Excellency as the guardian of the good name of this Presidency to take early steps to remove those defects and inequalities. It may indeed be urged that the rules are only tentative, but the character of this Presidency for progress and enlightment demands that even tentative rules for such a Presidency should not be of so decidedly retrograde a character.

And your Memorialists as in duty bound will ever pray.

Table referred to in the Memorial.

BANKS AND FIRMS IN KARACHI WHICH HAVE THEIR HEAD OFFICES IN BOMBAY.

(*From the "Times of India" Calendar for* 1893.)

NOTE.—There are 31 Banks and Firms in all, who are members of the Karáchi Chamber. Of these 16 are branches. There are, besides, four honorary members three of whom who are *officials*, namely, the Director, N. W. Railway; the Assistant Director, N. W. Railway; the Editor, *Sind Gazette*, and R. N. Coghlan, Esq.

BANKS.—Agra Bank; Bank of Bombay; National Bank of India.

FIRMS.—Bombay Company, Limited; Sir Charles Forbes and Co.; Donald Graham and Co.; Kerr Tarruk and Co.; McIver, Mackenzie and Co.; Ralli Brothers; Volkart Brothers; Richie, Stuart and Co.; Macdonald and Co.; Finlay, Muir and Co.; Bryan, Durant and Co.; Ewart, Ryrie and Co.; Latham and Co.

Correspondence.

THE BEHAR CADASTRAL SURVEY.

To the Editor of "INDIA."

SIR,—A paper on this subject was read on the 27th ult., before the East India Association, by Sir R. Lethbridge, K.C.I.E. It was headed by way of preface with the words "An official whim at the expense of the agricultural population of Behar," and was, as might be supposed from such an exordium, an entirely one-sided representation of the circumstances. Its main argument was that neither the Zamíndars nor *ráyats* wished for it, as the existing records were declared by both sides, with practically absolute unanimity, to be sufficient for all practical purposes, and it was admitted that infinite extortion, corruption and litigation must attend a Survey. Many political reasons (and especially the extreme suspicion with which any nibbling at the Permanent Settlement on the part of the Government is regarded) were also said to render such harassment particularly undesirable.

Although proper tribute is said to be paid to the high motives of Sir C. Elliott, every Association in

Bengal, it is asserted—not merely those that represent the landlords, but also those that are the acknowledged representatives of the tenants—implore the Lieutenant-Governor to drop the measure.

To an outsider this ebullition of feeling is unaccountable, a species of hysterical raving engendered of the unreasonable suspicion that the measure proposed is in reality a nibbling, as Sir R. Lethbridge expresses it, at the Permanent Settlement, and this view was given voice to by Mr. Da Costa, one of the Zamíndars, who spoke on the occasion. Now, if any measure ever carried out by the British in India has received the most solemn ratification, moral and legislative, it is the permanence of Lord Cornwallis's Permanent Settlement, as one in which the honour and good faith of the British nation are involved. If all the solemn pledges given on this subject, both by word and deed, are insufficient to convince Sir R. Lethbridge and those who are more immediately concerned of the irrevocability of what every one who has the real welfare of the Indian taxpayer at heart must consider a most ill-advised step, any farther argument on the point would be thrown away. There may be at the bottom some other equally unreasoning suspicion which does not come to the surface. When the Revenue Survey was first introduced into the Province of Khándesh in the Bombay Presidency, a report was spread by some of the Hereditary District Officers, whose illicit gains would be put a stop to by the measure, and believed by the ignorant *ráyats*, that the brass cross-staves, made in the shape of a cup with cross slits at right angles, in use were meant to measure their women's breasts with a view to extra taxation. Some equally whimsical notion may have entered the minds of the Behar tenants, and, if so, must be combated with common sense.

Great stress is laid in the paper on the expense that will be thrown on the people in carrying out the Survey and framing the record of rights. Is Sir R. Lethbridge quite sure of his facts in this respect, and is this expense not to be borne, at all events partially, by the State? There would be nothing unreasonable in the cost of any boundary marks that may have to be put up to ensure the permanence of the Survey being borne by the Zamíndars and others on whose fields they were erected, as without such marks the usefulness of the record of rights the framing of which is the chief object of the Survey would be enormously impaired. There is no doubt that a temperate representation against the unfairness of saddling those who are in no way benefitted by such a measure with the whole cost of it, as assumed in the paper, would be treated with respectful consideration.

Equally unreasoning would appear to be the fear of infinite extortion, corruption and litigation to follow in the steps of the Survey. The entries in such a record, if entrusted to the lowly paid *Amins* who are the bogies of those who are making all this outcry, can be made only on the statements of the people themselves, checked by those of the village authorities, the Zamíndars and others concerned. Such entries can not confer any legal title. They would be only *primâ facie* evidence in a court of law, and the certainty of exposure of any false entry would deter even the most corrupt Amín from attempting to make it. What is equivalent to the record of rights in the Bombay Presidency is made out at the settlements in the presence of the villagers and the village authorities in thousands and thousands of cases: it does not confer any legal title, and yet such a thing as a dispute in a court of law with regard to an entry is unknown, as every decision is come to in open court, with, as it were, the people themselves as jurors. Under such circumstances the fear of extortion, corruption and litigation to attend the proposed Survey operations in Behar must surely be more or less a bugbear.

One word on the other side of the question. Would there be no advantage to both landlords and tenants in the framing and maintaining of a document which would be for them a contemporary Domesday Book showing every man's legal status up to date in a form that the Courts of Law could accept *pro tanto* as a registered title deed? Would not the existence of such a document, an absolute necessity in all well-ordered communities, not only not lead to increased litigation, but actually put a stop to the greater part of it? Would not the feeling of perfect security brought about by it greatly enhance the value of proprietary rights, so as to enable them to be disposed of by sale, mortgage or inheritance, and lead to the investment of capital in the soil? To those who consider the question from an outside and unbiassed point of view, Sir C. Elliott's proposed measure, apart from the matter of the cost, which is surely a detail capable of amicable adjustment, is of a far-seeing and statesmanlike nature, and one that might well have been treated by a man of Sir R. Lethbridge's experience in a far less partisanlike tone than that adopted in his paper. A. Rogers.

38, Clanricarde Gardens, W.

Sir,—I am exceedingly indebted to you, and to my old friend and neighbour, Mr. A. Rogers, for permitting me to read, and to reply to, the very fair and weighty criticism of my paper on the Behar Cadastral Survey, that has been sent you by Mr. Rogers for publication in India. Mr. Rogers is beyond all question one of the first living authorities on the Bombay land-systems, not merely because of the high position he held as member of Council at Bombay, but also because of his unrivalled experience as a Settlement Officer, and I am not disposed to quarrel with him for thinking the tone of my paper a partisan one; for on consideration he will admit that on a question of such deep importance to the people of India, and one about which opinion is so strongly divided, all of us who are in earnest are bound to be more or less partisans. Mr. Rogers thinks that "every one who has the real welfare of the "Indian taxpayer at heart must consider" the permanent settlement of Bengal "a most ill-advised "step." So doubtless think many, perhaps most, Bombay officers; so think Mr. Cotterell Tupp, Mr. Irvine, and most North-Western authorities. They consider that the Government ought to be able to step in every thirty years, and annex the "unearned "increment" for good and useful purposes of State.

So perhaps thinks Sir Charles Elliott. But on the other hand, I venture to think that the unearned increment had better be left to fructify in the pockets of the landlords and tenants: and I should probably be supported in that view, possibly with various conditions and qualifications, by the almost solid opinion of Bengal, and by a considerable minority in the other provinces—who are inclined, like Sir William Wedderburn in Bombay, to ascribe the impoverishment of the Deccan peasantry, and the necessity for such exceptional legislation as the Deccan Ryots Relief Act, largely to the harassing and oppressive operation of our periodical settlements.

Mr. Rogers, however, thinks that British honour is so "irrevocably" pledged to the Permanent Settlement, bad though it be, that argument is wasted on those who vainly imagine that it can be "nibbled" away. I quite agree with him that this *ought* to be so. But is it? Are not the Road Cess, the Public Works Cess, and the other similar burdens that have been subsequently imposed on the land of Bengal, substantially new taxation imposed on that land as an addition to the revenue permanently settled? Have not attempts been made to saddle the land also with the cost of the education of the people? And if the enormous cost of making this survey, and the gigantic annual burden of maintaining the record-of-rights be also laid on the land, will it not be very like another case of "nibbling" at the Permanent Settlement?

To do Mr. Rogers justice, he thinks it utterly incredible that the Government should be so unfair as to charge this cost on the landlords and tenants. He suggests that on this point I may be wrong in my facts; and believes from the experience of Bombay that the State will bear all or most of the cost. But if he will look at Lord Cross's letter at page 191 of the "Blue-Book," he will see it there definitely stated that, though "it is true that in "other parts of India the general treasury bears the "cost of a cadastral survey and record-of-rights," yet "in the case of North Behar it is proposed that the "general treasury shall bear one-eighth of the cost, "the remainder being defrayed, half by the land-"lords and half by the tenants"! The process by which this astounding decision is arrived at is described at length by Lord Cross; it is too long for me to quote here, but I hope Mr. Rogers will read it in the Blue-Book, for it furnishes a most perfect sample of the "nibbling" process of which I have spoken. The first "nibble" was "tried on" in Benares—"Although (says Lord Cross) in the "permanently-settled districts of the Benares Divi-"sion, the landed classes were not called upon to "pay directly for the recent re-survey and record of "rights, it must be remembered that one-half the "cost of those operations was defrayed from the "unexpended balance of a special fund contributed "by the landholders, the other half was paid from "the general treasury.' Observe the gentleness—I will not call it the insidiousness—of this first nibble! Having thus taken, in Benares, one-half the cost from an "unexpended balance," it is discovered that the fund had been "contributed by the land-"holders;" so the transition is easy to the next nibble, in this Behar Survey, when seven-eighths of the cost is to be taken direct from the landlords and tenants! And so, Sir Charles Elliott will get his toy almost for nothing; and only a few millions of extra taxation will be laid on the shoulders of the unfortunate Bengal tenants, now and for ever.

And these extra millions will not even go—as Mr. Cotterell Tupp, by a curious confusion of ideas, in his letter to the *Homeward Mail* assumes—to the revenues of the country, so as to lighten the burdens of the rest of India. This is distinctly laid down by Lord Cross (Blue Book, p. 191) as one of the reasons why the general treasury should not pay the cost. They will simply be sunk in the construction of Sir Charles Elliott's toy, and in its maintenance until some Lieutenant-Governor arises who knows not Joseph, and refuses to harass the people for his fads—and then it will be lost altogether.

When the landlords and tenants of Bengal unite to cry out at the severity of this last "nibble," Mr. Rogers can only ascribe it to "hysterical raving;" and he closes his letter with a really eloquent description of the benefits that he thinks will be conferred by the measure on these misguided beings—*fortunati nimium sua si bona nôrint*. But as the *Hindoo Patriot* puts it, they respectfully differ, and think they are the best judges of their own affairs; and it is a fact that there is not even the smallest corner of an "Ulster" in Bengal to agree with Sir Charles Elliott and Mr. Rogers, and sustain an anti-Home Rule policy. What are the facts? Sir Charles—good man and first-class officer as everyone gladly recognises him to be—was brought into Bengal from another province, and put at the head of the Government. He finds practically the whole of Bengal—civilians, planters, merchants, landholders, tenants, Europeans and Indians alike—solidly opposed to this measure. Mr. C. T. Buckland, who held in Bengal much the same position as that held by Mr. Rogers in Bombay, speaks of the measure as "iniquitous." Mr. Seton-Karr, himself one of the greatest Bengal authorities, quotes Sir Henry Ricketts, Sir Frederick Halliday, and every other great Bengal name, as hostile to it. All Sir Charles Elliott's Secretaries, the Members of the Board of Revenue, all or very nearly all the Commissioners and Collectors, declare that it will stir up litigation, encourage extortion, and ruin the people. Not only landholders like the Mahárájá of Darbhangah, the Mahárájá Sir Jotendro Mohun Tagore, the Raja Peary Mohan Mukharji, all noted for their liberality to their tenants, but also recognised representatives of the tenants, like Mr. Lal Mohan Ghose (once a candidate for Deptford), and the Rai Sáhib Chunder Banerjea Bahádur, all object to it on the same grounds as those set forth by the Civil Service. Surely, to put all this down as "hysterical raving" is a little too strong?

I have shown that Mr. Rogers is in error in supposing that the Government cannot be so unfair as to impose the burden of the cost on the landed classes. But he also makes light of this cost as "a detail capable of amicable arrangement." Sir Charles Elliott expressly admits that it will be a severe burden on the people. He writes (*see* Blue-Book, p. 57), "It is this aspect of the question which has given the Lieutenant-Governor the gravest anxiety as to whether the undoubted advantages of the measure

were sufficient to justify *what is certainly for the time a very severe addition to the burdens of the people of the province.*"

Mr. Rogers thinks that the "fear of extortion" must "surely be more or less a bugbear." Sir Charles Elliott expressly admits the practical certainty of these attempts at extortion, and proposes to defeat them by the costly devices of "supervision by superior officers," and the use of "scientific mathematical instruments"! Which reminds one very much of the fabled duchess, who thought that the famine-stricken people, if they could not get bread to eat, might well be kept alive on cake.

And, lastly, Mr. Rogers believes that the fear of litigation is also "more or less a bugbear" in Behar, and grounds this belief on his Bombay experience. In the Settlement operations of that happy province—the province, *bien entendu*, of the Ryots Impoverishment Commission and the Deccan Ryots Relief Acts!—he tells us that "such a thing "as a dispute in a court of law with regard to an "entry is unknown." Well, Mr. Rogers is aware that Sir Charles Elliott has instituted and carried through four experimental surveys—and on their "satisfactory" results, which are published in the official report, he has based these larger operations. The results in all four surveys were very much alike, and I earnestly commend the perusal of the report to Mr. Rogers; but I happen to be able to give him a short summary of the official figures in regard to the resulting litigation on *one* estate only, that of Srinagar-Banaili, and if they do not open Mr. Rogers' eyes to the real terrors of this business, which is anything but a "bugbear," I shall be surprised. After the Srinagar-Banaili survey, the Calcutta *Englishman* tells us that the official report shows:

"As many as 20,000 'petitions of objections' were laid, and 3,852 suits of sorts instituted. Of objection suits, 1,743 actually came to trial, and these were supplemented by 447 'fair rent' suits, and 368 boundary disputes. This return represents in any case a very heavy outlay in legal costs; but when it appears that of the 447 decisions in four rent cases 271 were carried to an Appellate Court, its amount must have been large indeed. An unpleasant fact is that the decision of the Settlement Officer was reversed in 68 cases and modified in 34. That in all these cases trained and expensive pleaders were employed there can be little doubt. Besides these, 67 boundary cases were carried upon appeal before the Divisional Commissioner. It is very probable that the costs in stamps may have been small, but it is equally certain that hardly one of the 20,000 objections was made without its being submitted to a village lawyer for opinion, accompanied by an appropriate fee."

In conclusion, I may perhaps be permitted to mention that, since the meeting of the East India Association, the views I advocated have received striking corroboration from the course of the recent elections for the Bengal Legislative Council, held under Lord Cross's own "Reform Bill," the India Councils Act of 1892. In my reply to the discussion at that meeting, I ventured to assert that if the Survey were ever brought before a reformed Council, really representative of the people of Bengal, it would be promptly swept away. Have I proved right? It will be found that in almost every case, one of the recommendations put forward in favour of the popular candidate has been, that he has been opposed to the Cadastral Survey! For instance, the *Indian Mirror* of Calcutta, in an article strongly advocating the claims of Babu Guru Prashad Sen, M.A., B.L., the leader of the Patna Bar, to represent a portion of Behar in the Reformed Council, wrote of him on May 2nd:—

"The Memorials that he drafted in connection with the amendment of the law of landlord and tenant, as well as the amendment of the Patwari laws, are familiar to all interested in the public questions of the Province of Buddha's nativity (Behar); and *he has also taken his full and proper share in the agitation against the Cadastral Survey of Sir Charles Elliott's administration.*"

And so far as the telegraph has acquainted us with the actual results of the elections, they seem to have almost turned, at least to some extent, on this question—for at least in two cases, those of the Mahárájá of Darbhangah and of Mr. Lal Mohun Ghose, the triumphant candidates have been not merely opposed to the Survey, but the very leaders of the opposition to it. It seems to me intolerable that the Government of Bengal, after such a clear indication of the absolutely unanimous opinion of the people as this, should be allowed, merely on the unsupported *sic volo, sic jubeo* of a Lieutenant-Governor, however distinguished, thus to ride rough-shod over all arguments and all protests, by not only pressing on the Survey, but also proceeding to wring its cost out of the agonies of the unfortunate Behar agricultural population.

ROPER LETHBRIDGE.

Carlton Club, S.W.

RECRUITMENT OF COOLIES FOR TEA GARDENS.

To the Editor of "INDIA."

SIR,—The *Sanjabani*, a respectable Bengal newspaper of Calcutta, having a large circulation, published in its issue of the 4th February, 1893, some startling facts as regards the mode of recruitment of coolies for the tea-gardens of Assam. From these your readers will be able to see that slave-trade in some form or other, is still carried on in India. Though our rulers do not expressedly countenance such nefarious and inhuman trade, yet their indifference to the sufferings of the coolies of Assam, encourages the coolie recruiters to do many cruel acts. These facts are not singular in their kind, but the paper alluded to above makes startling disclosures, almost issue after issue, of similar facts. I have full faith in the Christian charity of the English people which leads them to the alleviation of the sufferings of all kinds all over the globe, and I hope that the nation to which Granville Sharp and Wilberforce belonged will not put up with such inhuman acts as are being perpetrated by unscrupulous persons under the very nose of the Christian rulers in this country. The facts as related by the *Sanjabani* are as follows: In a village named Sahapur, within the jurisdiction of Beenpur police station in the District of Midnapur in Bengal, there lives a man who belongs to the Dom caste. The Doms generally follow the trade of bamboo basket-making. This man has a daughter whose name is Rajani. One, Narayan Dom, and his elder brother, Jeebau Dom, coolie-recruiters by profession, who are the residents of Puru Nagar Raipur, a village situated

in the District of Manbhum, used to pay frequent visits to the village of Sahapur with the remote object of recruiting coolies. In these visits the wily brothers managed to pick up the acquaintance of Rajani's parents with the object of depriving them of their darling child. One day when the acquaintance grew into friendship, the elder brother Jeebau proposed to Rajani's father to give her in marriage to Narayan, the younger brother. The father of the girl at first declined the proposal for several reasons. The mother hotly opposed the alliance. But the wily Jeebau at length succeeded in bringing the parents round, and the marriage took place a short time after. Rajani was then a young girl only eleven years old. Within a few months of the celebration of the marriage the two brothers proposed to take Rajani to their home, but the mother of the girl refused to part with her darling child so soon. Besides, the girl was so fond of her mother—it was natural that she should be so fond at the tender age of eleven years—that she said that she would put an end to her life if rent asunder from her mother. But the wicked men, so intent upon their vicious project, would neither listen to the earnest pleadings of the parents nor the bitter weeping of the girl. Amidst much weeping and sighing the mother and the daughter parted from each other. Month after month after parting passed away, but no news from Rajani reached her mother, who addressed several letters to her. One day when the parents were in much anxiety for their child, a neighbour called upon them and told them that he had met with Jeebau at Beenpur. That unexpected piece of information considerably allayed their anxiety, for they hoped that Jeebau would certainly call at their house and tell everything about Rajani; but the man never called, and they were utterly disappointed. Thus hoping against hope, they at length made up their mind to pay a visit to Narayan's native village, which was some hundreds of miles off from their house. One morning they started with their child, a young boy of seven years of age, on a perilous journey. The journey was perilous because their route lay through a region full of jungles, infested with rapacious beasts and robbers. They took ten days before they reached Narayan's village. On calling at his house, they found him at home, and he grew perfectly pale at their sight. Having excused himself for keeping them long in suspense as regards Rajani, he said that Rajani was putting up with his sister in a neighbouring village. That information confirmed the fear that was stealing into the minds of the parents as regards the life of their darling child. They then insisted upon going to Narayan's sister's house. But the wicked man refused to accompany them there. Then he began to remonstrate with them. This brought a crowd of idle listeners to the spot, but no one of them could give any information as regards the whereabouts of Rajani. At night-fall they took quarters at the house of a smith living in that village. There they fell in with an old woman who was able to give some clue as to the whereabouts of Rajani to her parents. She said that Narayan had been married long before; he brought a young girl some two years ago whom he sent as a coolie to Assam. The descriptions which the woman gave of the girl perfectly answered to the descriptions of Rajani. As the parents listened to the tale, they were being overpowered with grief, for they had not the least doubt as to the identity of the coolie girl with their darling Rajani. Both the parents burst out in tears when the tale ended, and cursed the cruel fellow, Narayan. Next day they lodged a complaint to the Zamíndar of the village, who turned a deaf ear to their appeal. Having been baffled in their every endeavour to rescue their dear girl, the parents returned home broken-hearted, after a long and troublesome journey. They then began to abide by their misfortune, not knowing what to do to rescue their girl. Whilst they were in this mood of mind, they received a letter from Rajani, who had written it from Kumbha tea-garden on Tickill Hills. The contents of the letter, which, I believe, will interest your readers very much, are rendered below:—

"My dear mama,—Perhaps you are much weeping "for me. You gave me in marriage to a monster. "I was allowed to stay at his house only a week. "Then I was told to accompany him to his sister's "house. We then started on a journey. After "having travelled thirteen or fourteen miles, we "reached a house which we entered. There I was "told to put up with an old woman whom I was "commanded to call my Didi. I stayed with her, "who used to take good care of me, would feed me "well, and bought me a nice piece of cloth. I never "saw your son-in-law after he had left me. Once I "asked the old woman where my husband went; "but she answered with a smile, and asked me not "to be afraid of anything. When I used to weep "the old woman would console me. Thus eight or "ten days passed away. One day after that she "asked me to accompany her in making pilgrimage "to the holy River Ganges. Then a batch of fifteen "or sixteen persons, together with myself, made for "Calcutta. There we were lodged in a big house, "whence were dispatched by railway to Assam. I "then came to learn that I was sold for Rs. 40. "I was forced to go to a tea-garden in Cachar. "When I heard of my destination I began to weep, "and beat my forehead in utmost grief, but to no "avail. After a short time we reached Cachar. "Now I am putting up with one Nabaghana Dom, "in Kumbha tea-garden, in Tickill Hills. If you "and father come here I may accompany you home, "or else we shall not meet again on earth."

Here ends the sad chapter of a heartrending tale. The tale, though it looks like a fiction, is not, I believe, a bit exaggerated. Hundreds of such tales are told by the Indian newspapers without obtaining any hearing from the authorities. The publication of a single book, entitled "Uncle Tom's Cabin," telling the sad tales of the negro slaves in America, led to a mighty result. Will not the tales like the one related above bring forth the same result? Humanity, I think, is not sold so much to the Devil as to put up with such heartrending accounts. May God move the heart of the British public, and save the poor rustics of India from the clutch of the coolie-recruiters!—Yours, etc.,

13/2/93. HUMANITY.

INDIA

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INDIA.

LONDON, 1 JUNE, 1893.

SLAVERY IN ASSAM.

As the outcome of long-continued agitation against the penal laws which have for so long governed the emigration of labourers from other parts of India to the tea gardens of Assam, Sylhet and Cachar—laws nominally for the protection of these labourers, in practice resulting in handing them over as bond-slaves to the planters—the Government of India undertook to pass a new and improved law. A new law they have passed; but it is difficult to see any great improvement in the new Act, which despite the protests of the native members, has just been rushed through the Supreme Council.

Subjoined is printed the Memorial of the Indian Association of Calcutta to the Select Committee which considered the Inland Emigration Act. This Act is to all intents and purposes one for regulating the importation of coolies from Lower Bengal to work in the tea gardens of Assam. Special legislation has hitherto been considered necessary for this purpose, for it is an expensive matter to import coolies, and as the tea gardens could only be cultivated by such imported labour, permission was given for the coolies to bind themselves under a contract containing penal conditions to work for a stated period on a particular garden, or for a particular employer. This special legislation has always been regarded as temporary, and it has been the general expectation that as the tea districts of Assam were opened up and communications became easy the supply of labour would be left to natural and economic agencies. This is the view taken in the *Imperial Gazetteer of India*, where in the article on "Assam" Sir W. W. Hunter says: "The transport of labourers to Assam, and the protection of those who enter into long contracts, are "regulated by law. But it is hoped that with the "opening of railway communication with Assam, "the necessity for such legislative interference will "gradually disappear."

Very probably in the earlier days of the great tea enterprize some regulating laws were needed, alike in the interests of the planter and the coolie; but with the immense development alike of river steam navigation, railways, roads, and the tea industry itself, the ordinary laws that govern the relations of masters and servants, employers and employed, labour and capital, throughout the rest of India, are all that are really required, and these special penal enactments, of which this new law is a specimen, are only maintained to enable the planters to get their labour below the market price.

On general grounds it is now universally admitted that such legislation needs to be very carefully watched. Special safeguards must be adopted to prevent contract labourers from signing away their liberty for indefinite periods or inadequate considerations, and there is always a fear that special contract labour may degenerate into serfdom. Such legislation can only be defended, like Protection in new countries, on the supposition that it is necessary in order to found or foster new industries, which, when once firmly established, can continue without interfering with the ordinary economic laws of supply and demand. It is on this supposition, and on this supposition alone, that a good case can be made out for such regulations as those contained in the Indian Inland Emigration Act. But behind this specious argument lies a more general argument, based on climatic considerations. It is asserted that in tropical climates, where white Europeans cannot work, it is legitimate to employ the labour of races accustomed to the tropics, and since people of these races cannot be induced to see the advantages of working for another's profit, that it is right to compel them to work in the white man's plantations. This was the doctrine which underlay the introduction of negro slaves into the West Indies and America; this is the standing argument for the introduction of Kanaka labourers from the islands of Polynesia into Queensland; and it is the basis of the contentions of the supporters of special legislation for bringing coolies to work in the Assam tea gardens. In these days of the Aborigines' Protection Society, when any attempt at the introduction and legal sanction of forced coolie labour is carefully watched by philanthropists, and when the Queensland labour laws are being scrutinised to prevent the establishment of a system of disguised slavery, it is hardly necessary to say more on the general question of the importance of watching all special legislation designed to protect the importation of coolie labour; if it were necessary to adduce arguments as to the ease with which these ignorant coolies practically sell themselves as slaves to white planters in tropical climates, it is only necessary to refer to the remarkable, if somewhat exaggerated,

book of that wayward man of talent, Mr. Jenkins, M.P., the author of *Ginx's Baby*, which he published in 1871 under the title of *The Coolie, His Rights and Wrongs.*

But if it may be taken for granted that it is universally recognised that forced labour of any kind is contrary to the spirit of modern civilisation and hardly to be justified on the economic grounds generally alleged, owing to the inherent danger that it may degenerate into slavery, it is yet necessary to examine the question with special reference to the Assam tea-gardens. I have no desire to attack the tea-planters of Assam. Doubtless there are both good and bad tea-planters, as there are good and bad employers of labour in every branch of trade, manufacture or agriculture. There were good and bad slave owners in the West Indies and America, and there are good and bad sugar-planters in Queensland to-day. It is the system of forced labour, which I wish to see ended, and the substitution of free labour in its place. Surely by this time tea cultivation must be sufficiently firmly established to be able to do without special legislation and interference with the ordinary laws of supply and demand. No doubt a harrowing story might be made up out of isolated instances of tyranny on the part of the tea planters, but it would no more be a fair statement of the truth than it would be correct to say that all the American cotton planters before the war were represented by Mrs. Beecher Stowe's Legree in "Uncle Tom's "Cabin."

It is on the broad general ground that special legislation is no longer necessary, that its more prudent opponents base their opposition to its continuance. This is the part of the Memorial of the Indian Association to which I wish to call particular attention. Mr. W. Erskine Ward, C.S.I., the present Chief Commissioner of Assam, whose experience of Assam dates back to 1876, wrote in 1886: "Not a "few officers consider that special labour laws for "Assam are undesirable, and that both Act I of "1882 and Act XIII of 1859 might, with advan-"tage, be at once repealed," but it is "quite certain "that *in remote and unhealthy tracts the planter cannot "do without a penal Act.*" This is important evidence, and it is further illustrated by the wise and statesmanlike remarks of Mr. Alexander Porteous, I.C.S., a younger officer than Mr. Ward, but with nearly as long an experience of Assam, which follow: "The main objection to the repeal of the Act "would be that *remote and unhealthy gardens, or gardens "for any other reason unpopular with coolies, would have "difficulties in obtaining labour without its aid: but no "better reason for the repeal of the Act could surely be "found than this fact.* If a garden has disadvantages, "its owners should be prepared to pay to remedy "them; it is no part of the duty of Government to "provide them with cheap labour. *The main effect "of the Act is to keep down wages without to any appre-"ciable extent bettering the condition of the labourers.*"

It is impossible to deny the force of this argument. As the Indian Association forcibly stated in their memorial to the Government of India: "If "gardens are unhealthy or if they are remote, or "unpopular, it is no part of the duty of government "to help the proprietors with a penal law which "serves to keep down wages at the expense of the "coolies. If the coolies are required to work in "gardens that are unhealthy, or that are far "removed from their homes, it is only fair that "they should receive remuneration proportionate to "the sacrifices which they are called upon to make. "A law which at all tends to deprive them of the "advantages to which they would be entitled if they "were left to themselves, involves a positive injus-"tice to them. No more emphatic condemnation of "Act I. of 1882, could have been pronounced than "by Mr. Ward, the present Chief Commissioner, "when he said that '*the coolie is practically a slave "'for the whole period of his contract*'."

Unfortunately the new Act, in most essentials, leaves matters much as they were, and the Assam coolies—though I do not for a moment deny that they have many kind masters amongst the planters—still remain slaves, very much at the mercy of bad, unfeeling, and selfish employers. I trust that the Secretary of State will disallow this new enactment, and insist on the passing of a revised and far more liberal and just law. By all means protect the coolie—he is poor, ignorant, and, in Assam, a stranger far from home and friends, while his employers are comparatively clever, educated, rich and powerful. There are many gardens, so deadly, that it were far better to lead a forlorn hope, than work in them for a year. Certainly protect the coolies—too much cannot be done in this direction—but leave them *free*, leave them to make the best bargains they can for their labour, and their lives which they hold in their hands when they enter some gardens and do not strengthen the hands of their employers, already where bad men are concerned—and there *are* bad men, not a few, amongst them—all too strong, but refer them for the redress of any shortcomings of their coolies to those same civil courts and that same code of law, which elsewhere throughout the empire, suffice for the settlement of similar disputes and differences, between labour and capital.

But it is not against the planter alone that the coolie needs to be protected; the system has created a class of coolie-recruiters in Bengal, whose iniquitous deeds rival those of the coolie importers of Queensland. In this connection I print a touching letter, which I have received from a native gentleman fully authenticated with name and address, from India. I publish it in the exact form in which it reached me, in the belief that its statements will expose the danger, to which the poor and ignorant are exposed by the existence of this special labour legislation, without any comments of mine. A system which calls into existence such a class of slave-hunters as these coolie-recruiters stands condemned by its very existence.

We hear a great deal about the wickedness of the Kanaka slavery in Queensland, and I believe that it is not easy to speak too hardly of the conditions under which in the past the poor islanders have been enslaved and, too often, done to death; but, after all, in what plantation in Australia have fifty, sixty, and even seventy per cent. of the imported labourers died in a single season, as has been, as the Government records show, the case repeatedly in certain of

the Assam tea gardens? The great bulk, too, of these coolies are aborigines, *pur et simple*, Santhals, Dangars, and the like. How comes it that the Society for the Protection of Aborigines does not interest itself in this Assam slavery matter? Surely they would be thus even more profitably employed than in protesting against the resumption of the Kanaka slave trade. In Australia they can do little: everything there practically rests in the hands of the local administration; but in the case of Assam, a little pressure by such an influential body would effect, and speedily, a radical reform in the existing evil system.

MEMORIAL ON THE INLAND EMIGRATION BILL.

From the Secretary to the Indian Association to the Secretary to the Government of India in the Legislative Department. Dated, Calcutta, the 10th March, 1893.

SIR,—I am directed by the Committee of the Indian Association to submit the following remarks on the Inland Emigration Bill, for the consideration of the Select Committee:—

The Committee would in the first place beg leave to remark that, having regard to the facilities of communication which have now been established between Assam and the rest of India, it is no longer necessary to have recourse to special legislation for the supply of labour for the Assam tea-gardens, and that the time has come when Act I of 1882 should be repealed and Act XIII of 1859 should be declared inapplicable to Assam. Special legislation for the benefit of a particular class of the community or of a particular industry is always open to serious objection. Such legislation is utterly indefensible, the Committee beg leave to observe, when the necessity for it is not so apparent. High officials of the Government have from time to time recorded opinions against the special laws to which exception is now taken. So far back as 1886 when the Government called for opinions from different officers, the Deputy Commissioner of Kámrúp considered that the Act (Act I of 1882) was no longer wanted in his district, "as only eleven gardens had "availed themselves of its provisions, the improved "communication rendering access to Bengal a matter "of only two or three days' journey." The Deputy Commissioner of the Assam Valley Districts recommended "the exemption of his district" from the operation of this law. The Deputy Commissioner of Nowgong said that "the Act is most unpopular in "his district; that the majority of gardens work "outside it, and that the repeal of the Act would "only affect a few unpopular gardens, which would "then have to spend more money to get coolies to "go to them." The Deputy Commissioner of Cachar was "of opinion that while managers living "near the station are desirous of working outside "the Act as much as possible, those near the "borders of the district would be seriously affected "if the Act were abolished."

No officer of Government has had greater experience of Assam than Mr. Ward, the present Chief Commissioner. Mr. Ward served as Judicial Commissioner for many years, was Officiating Chief Commissioner for some time, and is now again Chief Commissioner. Writing in 1886, as Chief Commissioner, he said:—

"Not a few officers consider that special labour "laws for Assam are undesirable, and that both "Act I of 1882 and Act XIII of 1859 might, with "advantage, be at once repealed," but it is "quite "certain that *in remote and unhealthy tracts the planter* "*cannot do without a penal Act.*"

Referring to the objection taken to the repeal of the Act on the score of its proving a hardship to unhealthy gardens, or gardens situated in remote parts of the province (an objection which was taken by so high an authority as Mr. Ward) Mr. Porteous, C.S., late Sub-Divisional Officer of Karímganj, remarked:—

"The main objection to the repeal of the Act "would be that *remote and unhealthy gardens, or* "*gardens for any other reason unpopular with coolies,* "*would have difficulties in obtaining labour without its* "*aid; but no better reason for the repeal of the Act* "*could surely be found than this fact.* If a garden has "disadvantages, its owners should be prepared to "pay to remedy them; it is no part of the duty of "Government to provide them with cheap labour. "*The main effect of the Act is to keep down wages with-* "*out to any appreciable extent bettering the condition of* "*the labourer.*"

It is impossible to deny the force of the observations which are here quoted. If gardens are unhealthy, or if they are remote, or unpopular, it is no part of the duty of Government to help the proprietors with a penal law which serves to keep down wages at the expense of the coolies. If the coolies are required to work in gardens that are unhealthy or that are far removed from their homes, it is only fair that they should receive remuneration proportionate to the sacrifices which they are called upon to make. A law which at all tends to deprive them of the advantages, to which they would be entitled if they were left to themselves, involves a positive injustice to them. No more emphatic condemnation of Act I of 1882 could have been pronounced than by Mr. Ward, the present Chief Commissioner, when he said that "the coolie is "practically a slave for the whole period of his "contract" (*vide* Emigration Report of 1886). It is for the Select Committee and the Legislative Council to decide whether in view of the opinions which are here quoted they will permit a law to remain in the statute-book which was described by a late member of the Viceregal Council as a Slave Law, an opinion which apparently is shared by the present Chief Commissioner of Assam.

Coming now to Act XIII of 1859, the Committee of the Indian Association are of opinion that it should be declared inapplicable to Assam. Here again the Committee observe that the condemnation of the law by high officials is clear and emphatic. Mr., now Sir Charles, Elliott in the Emigration Report for 1883 observed as follows in reference to this Act in its application to Assam:—

"A contract may be enforced under this Act, "though it is not in writing, though it is not

"stamped, though it is not registered, though it "has not been presented for verification before any "official, though there is no proof (other than what "evidence is produced on the trial) that the labourer "understood the terms of the engagement, though "the terms may be manifestly unfair. A labourer "cannot free himself by redemption, nor can he "plead any misconduct of his employer as an "excuse for non-performance. In short, not one "of the safeguards which the Legislature in Act I "of 1882 thought necessary for the protection of "the tea-coolie are provided by Act XIII of 1859."

Having regard to the opinions quoted above, the Committee feel that if any weight is to be attached to the views of these authorities, Act I of 1882 should be repealed and Act XIII of 1859 should be declared to be inapplicable to Assam. It is evident however from the Bill that it is not proposed to follow such a course, and the penal laws are yet to have another term of life extended to them. That being so, the Committee would beg leave to observe that the Bill should be recast on the lines of the recommendations made by the Bengal Government. The Committee strongly support the recommendation made by the Bengal Government with regard to a system of initial registration in the districts where the coolies are recruited. Facilities for the grossest malpractices are now afforded by the coolies being registered away from their homes. The evils incidental to recruiting, against which the present law provides no remedy, are thus described by the *Pioneer* newspaper:—

"Boys and girls are cajoled or intimidated into "leaving their homes and are carried off to Assam "under false names. Married women are persuaded to desert their husband and children, and "are decoyed away under circumstances that make "it practically impossible to trace them. District "Officers and non-officials, Europeans and natives, "missionaries and managers of collieries, all alike "bear testimony to the growing prevalence of kidnapping in all its various forms, and to the misery "and crime which it occasions. It has been said "that if the magistrates and the police do their "duty properly, the worst cases, at all events, "would be prevented or detected and punished, "and it is in this view that the Bengal Government lately deputed a special officer of the "police to conduct an inquiry into such cases in "Chutiá Nágpur. This view, however, leaves a "great part of the question out of sight. The "police can only interfere to prevent the commission "of some offence, or to detect the culprit when an "offence has been committed. But in many cases, "and those some of the worst class, the acts of the "recruiters, wicked and immoral though they are, "do not constitute an offence at all. It is not an "offence to entice a married woman to leave her "husband and her children and become a coolie for "five years or longer in Assam. It is not an offence "to persuade a grown-up son to desert his parents "and leave them destitute, even though his labour "may be their only means of support. Even when "some recruiter, grown bolder from impunity, does "actually overstep the limits of the law, the chances "in his favour are overwhelming. The expense of "legal proceedings is almost always prohibitive to "the classes concerned, while the entire freedom "which the 'free' recruiters enjoy from official "supervision, and the ease with which names, "castes, and residences can be changed render it "almost hopeless to obtain a satisfactory clue."

The extract is somewhat long, but the Committee of the Indian Association respectfully submit it for the consideration of the Select Committee; and they invite their attention to the magnitude of the evil therein described and the necessity of taking vigorous measures to guard against it. The best protection against this evil would, in the opinion of the Committee, be a system of initial registration in the head-quarters of the district or sub-division where the coolie is recruited. The Committee fail to see how such a system if adopted would be expensive. On an average, each coolie costs the garden about a hundred rupees. The initial registration would involve an additional expense of two or three rupees per head, which is only a very small fraction of the entire cost. This trifling additional expense is nothing when compared to the safety against malpractices which such a system would go far to ensure. Nor would a system of initial registration militate against what is called free emigration. Registration itself is opposed to free emigration. The Committee would welcome a system of free emigration, if under it the coolies were left free to themselves to settle their terms with the planters, unfettered by a penal law. There really can be no such thing as free emigration with a system of registration and with penal laws enforcing the contracts which the coolies enter into with their masters. This would involve the repeal of sections 111 and 112 of Act 1 of 1882. The Committtee are of opinion that there is no ground whatever for enforcing by penal laws contracts entered into with local coolies. The reason generally assigned for a special law with penal provisions for breach of contract, is that the planter is obliged to spend a good deal of money to recruit coolies and to bring them to Assam. In the case of coolies living in Assam, the planter incurs no expense whatever. Obviously in such cases the provisions of a penal law are wholly out of place. But in case Sections 111 and 112 should not be repealed, the Committee are of opinion that no registration should take place at Dhubrí. Dhubrí is the chief city of the Goálpárá District which is not a labour district at all. As regards local contracts, the Committee would accord their firm support to the proposals of the Government of Bengal, viz., that such contracts should be restricted to those who have been proved to have been at least two years in Assam. Local contracts ought to be entered into only with local labourers. It is too often the practice on the part of the *Arkatis* to take coolies all the way to Dhubrí, unfettered by the wholesome restrictions which the Act provides, and then to get them registered as local labourers, whereas as a matter of fact they are not so. The restriction proposed by the Bengal Government would go far to put an end to these practices. Under Sections 111 and 112, contracts are verified only when the Inspector goes to the gardens on his usual official tour. The result is that in many cases months, and, it may be, a year

may elapse before a contract is verified. But in the meantime the coolie may be subjected to penal restrictions which may have been improperly imposed upon him. The Committee would therefore suggest that all contracts should be verified within a specified limit of time, not exceeding one month, from the date of their execution; and where contracts have been improperly entered, the coolies should not only be entitled to adequate compensation, but that proper punishment should be provided for such a proceeding on the part of their employers. In this connection the Committee would call the attention of the Select Committee to the remarks made by Mr. Knox Wight, C.S., Deputy-Commissioner of Sibságar. He says:

"It is not possible to verify all the contracts "during the year. For instance, an Inspector visits "a garden in a certain month of the year, and he "verifies all contracts registered before the visit is "paid; in the succeeding months more contracts from "the same garden are received and registered; but a "year may elapse before the next visit is paid, and "till then these must remain unverified. Besides, "last year many gardens employing Act labourers "were not visited at all. It must be remembered "that managers are very particular in taking con- "tracts. They carefully avoid taking a large num- "ber of contracts at one and the same time. Their "object is that the contracts of the coolies should "expire at different times. As gardens are visited "only once a year, it follows that hundreds and "hundreds of contracts must remain unverified for "9 or 10 or 11 months."

Mr. Porteous, C.S., late Sub-divisional Officer of Karímganj, says:

"There is not the smallest security that the "coolie when he is brought up to go through the "form of touching the pen, in company with some "dozens of others, at the garden, understands in the "least what he is signing to. There is no provision "that his agreement should be first explained to him, "nor is it very likely that any objection he might "make would be listened to. He is expected to sign "with the rest."

Mr. Stevenson, C.S., Deputy-Commissioner of Sylhet, says:

"In the above remarks of the Sub-divisional "Officer, Karímganj, on the liability to abuse of the "Section 111 procedure, I fully concur. In this "matter the law appears entirely one-sided. Every- "thing is in favour of the employer. A labour con- "tract purporting to have been signed by the coolie, "but either not executed by him, or if executed, "executed under a misapprehension, is sent in for "registration under Section 111, and registered. It "may not be verified for a year afterwards; and sup- "pose it is then cancelled, what compensation does "the unfortunate coolie receive? He has been, one "may say, in wrongful confinement for a year, forced "to labour for a master who had no claim to his "services, and liable, if he tried to escape from his "state of QUASI-SLAVERY, to be pursued, arrested, "and sent up for trial like a common criminal, or "worse, as these even cannot in all cases be arrested "without a warrant."

In conclusion the Committee would call attention to the condition of child-life in the tea gardens, in the earnest hope that now that the law is being recast, measures will be provided to remedy a crying evil. They will quote in this connection the remarks of some distinguished officers of Government.

In the Report on Labour Emigration into Assam for 1884, the Chief Commissioner remarks: "Neglect "on the part of the women, who are unable to do "their daily task and at the same time look after "their children, and who cannot afford to do no work "and stay at home, accounts in a great measure for "the high mortality among children." The Civil Surgeon of Dibrugarh also says in his report for that year: "The conditions of child-life in a tea-garden "are altogether so unfavourable that the wonder is "how so many children succeed in passing child- "hood's stage. A coolie woman gets a variable "amount of leave for her confinement. After that "if the infant is not strangled at birth, she must "either take it out with her to her work, or leave it "behind, with no one to look after it. In the former "case, tied to its mother's back or left in the nearest "drain, it is exposed to extremes of heat and cold, "to wind and to rain; in the latter the child gets "half-starved, and so paves its way to a death from "some bowel-disorder, or succeeds in cutting short "its career by a fall or a roll into the open fire. So "alive are coolie women to these facts that, to avoid "the trouble of bringing up their children under "such circumstances, abortion is frequently resorted "to, and *dais* who produce it often make their "business a very profitable one." The same officer again says in his report for 1886: "Women are "most needed during the plucking season, which is "at the same time the most sickly. It is not to be "wondered at, therefore, that they are not allowed "the time they need to look after their children, or "that the latter are neglected." In his report for 1887 he repeats the same observation: "The second "half of the year, being the hottest, the dampest, "and the time of the hardest work, is always the "most trying to the coolie. Deaths among the "children of a tea-garden, too, must, as I explained "in a former report, be higher than elsewhere; but "such a large proportion of child and infant mor- "tality suggests the reflection whether the coolies "were allowed sufficient time to look after their "young."

The above extracts disclose a state of things which demand an instant remedy. It would be impossible to believe that such things could exist under British rule, were they not attested by evidence which all must admit as being conclusive. The Committee would earnestly appeal to the Government to enquire into the state of things here disclosed, and to apply the remedy.

I have the honour to be, Sir,
Your most obedient Servant,
SURENDRA NATH BANERJEA,
Honorary Secretary.

THE Rajah of Bobbili has arrived in London and taken up his residence at No. 35, Russell Road, Kensington, W.

EAST AND WEST.

IN all our most positive convictions there exists, though we seldom acknowledge it, an element of doubt. This is a truth of such empiric certitude that the wonder is how seldom we acknowledge the doubt. In this respect men never seem to learn; in this respect they seem to make but little progress. There has grown up, it is true, a larger toleration for adverse belief, but this toleration has been almost entirely confined to the region of things physical, and has hardly yet penetrated into the realm of things intellectual. We no longer burn a heretic. We do not, even those few of us who are sane, imagine that in him are exemplified all the vices of humanity, and that his opinions mark him out for the special unkindness of Providence hereafter, but we believe, and believe with irremovable assurance, that he is wrong—hopelessly, abysmally wrong. There is no doubt that this intensity of conviction has its use; it is, in fact, the mainspring of definite action, but its existence, after the shattering of so many world-wide convictions in the past, is none the less curious.

The man of science finds it difficult to realise how people could be so stupid in the time of Galileo, but to-day he is as rooted to his particular views about things as ever were the men of former time. So the man of any one of the mutually destructive religions is not one bit the wiser for the experience of the world in matters religious. Into the minds of these two men there enters no glimmer of doubt but that they in the main are right. The possibility of unimportant errors they will admit, making the slight admission a cloak for the larger claim, but the fundamental correctness of their doctrines, however divergent from those of equally positive people, they will never for one fleeting moment hesitate to affirm. We repeat there is physical toleration; the equalisation of individual powers, offensive and defensive, due to the inventions of science, have made this a necessity; there is even a certain mental attitude of civility, due to a similar cause, the greater equality of mental equipment which is the outcome of the spread of education, but uncertainty there is none. Inflexible to the logic of facts, unteachable to the continuing negations of experience, the individual human mind ignores persistently the simple law that of two contrary convictions, while both cannot be true, both may be, and generally are, false.

True as this is of the scientific or religious world, how much more applicable is it to the world of politics? Where the element of party strife or the prejudice of patriotism find an entrance it is a common-place that reason totters, and this far-reaching attribute of human thought receives its most poignant illustration from the benighted patriotism of educated men. The weakness forcibly demonstrates the limits of perception in man; there seems to be an utter incapacity for the part to appreciate its relation to the whole, or even to recognize that it is only a part, consequently the drift of tendency in the whole is not reckoned by the part among the facts of experience upon which it may draw for present and future guidance. Hence, too, the inability of one person or one nation to profit by the experience of another person or another nation; hence, finally, that singular want of appreciation of one race by another, and lack of comprehension of one another's circumstances which mark international relations.

This is the secret of England's attitude to India, and of that grudging spirit in which she denies the claim of an older but different civilisation to be treated as an equal at the bar of the nations. We in the foremost place for bodily vigour and material prosperity among the Western peoples have not understood the different outlook of the Eastern mind, and, not understanding, we have foolishly despised. What do we know? What *data* have we to go upon that we should claim superiority for our Western civilisation, for our Western methods of thought, and for our Western modes of action? If we say that history proves us better, the proof is not easy to discover; against famine and war and pestilence may be set pestilence and war and famine. Against starvation in the East there is starvation in the West; and then the period of history is so short and the fruits of that superiority so unreal, if we measure superiority by the standard of a people's happiness. Who shall say that the reflective and mystical Eastern mind, with its internal peace and external mildness, is not a more desirable possession than our intensely practical Western mind, with its constant pressure on its bodily habitation and its resulting spasms of inevitable action?

Doubtless the citizens of imperial Rome looked down upon the uncouth barbarians that fringed their empire. They were justified in a sense: there was no comparison between the countrymen of Virgil and Cicero and the rude savages who opposed their naked bodies to the march of Cæsar's legions. But we now know that in those savage breasts was implanted the germ of a higher civilisation than any which Rome might attain to. *Ex nihilo nihil fit*; and the barbarian ancestors of modern Europe with all their potential energy of future development were even at that time men of a higher race than their proud conquerors—at least, this is the present opinion of modern Europe. Now the implication is not that so also are the Indian peoples of a higher race than the English people—that is, it is not necessarily so; at the same time the analogy which may not be gainsaid destroys any cocksure theory of British superiority. Of course we possess in certain things which we deem important a quite obvious superiority, *mutatis mutandis* so do the Indians; every nation, like every individual, treats as important those things in which it excels. But the records of past time at our disposal and the present wisdom of the world cannot define for us intelligibly or acceptably what *is* most important and what is most conducive to the attainment of what is most important. There is a certain consensus of opinion among philosophers and religionists and people generally that the higher and spiritual faculties should be developed, but very few really understand what this means, and still fewer act upon such a belief; while history hardly affords the spectacle of a nation living and acting upon such principles. Those few sections of mankind which have from time to time most

nearly approached to this ideal have generally been laughed or crushed out of existence, which is only one more proof to the triumphant but illogical Western that such spiritual strivings are for the most part foolish.

The great bar to our comprehension of India's feelings and aspirations lies here. We have been brought face to face with proud and ancient peoples, having around them the indications of a considerable civilisation, and affording in the keenness and subtlety of their intellectual development the earnest of great material progress; yet we find them as a race caring little for these things. We find the true leaders among them men of extraordinary mental abstraction, lost in abstruse speculations which we think unprofitable and careless of those things which we deem paramount, while the great bulk of the people we find gentle and simple to a degree we despise; sunk, as we term it, in the slough of a religion of infinite metaphysic of boundless superstition. Strange that we should also have found this people moral and temperate! We simply have not understood.

Slowly and blunderingly we are learning that failure or excellence in one set of human faculties does not connote of necessity failure or excellence in others; but the first impressions, with the deep-rooted prejudices and race bias to which they gave birth, may not be easily eradicated. There is much of struggle and disappointment for the English people, generous in the main, before they can rightly understand and sympathetically administer their Empire in the East. Many things to them fundamentally unintelligible must they learn, many things, the acquired instincts of their national life, must they unlearn. We are not without hope that they will grow to understand the one and learn to properly estimate the other.

It is not that we have failed so much as that we have not succeeded. We have not grasped the immensity of the issues involved. The fault has been one of head rather than one of heart; the want of adequate success has been the result of the numerous individual failures which have nullified, in wearing and cumulative details, the true endeavours of the British people. Our mission to India is not that of a conqueror; it is even more than that of an overlord and peace-maker to her many millions. It is that of the teacher who is also a learner. While we may impart something of bodily vigour and material progress—if bodily vigour and material progress be in themselves a countervailing gain—while we may infuse something of that sturdy independence and love of liberty which makes, so far as our small knowledge extends, for the happiness of a nation, the Indian peoples do not give us nothing in return. We too have much to learn from our contact with a race more subtle and refined and intellectually capable than our own; we too must benefit, if only we maintain our honesty of purpose, from the sense of noble aims nobly carried out, and from the quickening feeling that in the exercise of Imperial functions we have strengthened in two opposite races those qualities in each which most needed strengthening, and which by their development have contributed not inconsiderably to the sum of human happiness. We have not yet fulfilled the promise of our earlier hopes and aspirations; we have not yet done much to realize that high ideal of human intercourse which enables two peoples to benefit equally by their connection one with the other, which enjoins respect for another's feelings and brings with it appreciation of another's different powers. But though we do not openly avow it, though it is almost an unconscious ideal, though in fact individually we may repudiate it, this is the true ideal which the British people has set before it; and this is the only ideal to which the Indian peoples have responded, the only ideal worthy of their acceptance, and the one ideal which has made their acceptance of British rule and their response to British influence both possible and beneficial.

Reviews.

TAMIL POETRY.

The Nāladiyār, or Four Hundred Quatrains in Tamil, with introduction, translation and notes, critical, philological, and explanatory, to which is added a Concordance and Lexicon with authorities from the oldest Tamil writers. By the Rev. G. U. Pope, M.A., D.D. (Oxford: At the Clarendon Press. Price 18s.)

In publishing this excellent volume, Dr. Pope has done another splendid service for the Tamil language, which he knows and loves so well. In his edition of the "Sacred" Kurral, published in 1886, he first opened to English readers an interesting store of Tamil gnomic poetry, and in this volume he has published a worthy supplement to his former work. All who enjoyed the Kurral, and many without the time to learn the Tamil language did so in Dr. Pope's translation which accompanies each distich, will eagerly turn to the Nāladi to see if it rivals in beauty and terseness the moral epigrams of the Kurral. It is not fair to compare the two; they resemble each other so thoroughly in spirit and in style, that they seem part of one and the same epoch of thought, and the non-expert in Tamil would put them down as the productions of the same age. They bear the characteristics of all popular gnomic poetry. As each distich or quatrain is read parallel passages arise to the mind from the Proverbs of Solomon, from the ancient Greek writers, from the mediæval Latin sentences, and from the popular proverbs of every country. Indeed a commentary could be made by reading side by side with the Kurral and the Nāladi the unrivalled collection of proverbs formed by the Rev. James Long, the work to which that eminent scholar looked for his fame, the work which he loved the best, and which lives now that his part in the Nīl Darpan controversy is forgotten. It is not every one that has a taste for proverbial philosophy, for pithy apophthegms and scraps of moral wisdom sententiously laid down, but to those who have such a taste no intellectual pleasure is dearer than finding the parallelisms and contrasts in thought and expression which exist in the popular

parlance of all countries. I know no better description of this kind of moral epigram than that which Dr. Pope quoted from Archbishop Trench's "Saint "Augustine" in his introduction to the Kurral. "He abounds in short and memorable, and, if I "might so call them, epigrammatic sayings, concen- "trating with a forceful brevity the whole truth "which he desires to impart into some single phrase, "forging it into a polished shaft, at once pointed "to pierce, and barbed that it shall not lightly drop "from the mind and memory."

The current tradition regarding the origin of the 400 quatrains may be quoted from Dr. Pope's introduction. "Once on a time 8000 Jain ascetics, driven "by famine, came to a Pāndiyan king, and were "supported by him. When the famine was over, "they prepared to return to their own country, "though the king wished to retain the learned "strangers who added lustre to his court. At last "the poets were driven to depart secretly by night. "In the morning it was found that each bard had "left on his seat a quatrain. These were examined "and found to differ widely from one another. The "king then ordered them all to be thrown into the "river Vaigai, when it was found that the palm- "leaf scrolls containing these 400 quatrains ascended "the river against the current and came to the bank. "To these the king gave the name of Nāladiyār "(the quatrainists)." This fanciful legend is quaint and curious, but it is obvious that, if any man or body of men threw these quatrains into the particular shape they now assume, they are really popular proverbial philosophy. Their popularity and possibly also their origin is indicated by the name they also bear of Vellālar-Vētham, the "Bible of the Cultiva- "tors of the Soil."

Dr. Pope has wisely avoided any attempt to translate the quatrains into English verse, as he did in the case of the distichs in the Kurral. Fitzgerald's success with Omar Khayyam stands alone, and in the exigency of making a verse there would be a danger of losing the completeness of the thought. Only a Tamil scholar could venture to assert whether Dr. Pope's translation could be in any way improved, and where is the Tamil scholar in England who would dare to set himself up to criticise Dr. Pope? Three quotations will give, better than long analyses or disquisitions, some idea of this fascinating volume. They will alike give a taste of Dr. Pope's powers as a translator, and of the pithy inwardness of Tamil gnomic poetry. Take this for instance on

"*The Elephant and the Dog, types of false and true "friends*" (p. 137):

"Forsaking friendship with those who resemble "the elephant, embrace and hold fast intimacy with "those who are like the dog: for the elephant will "slay even its keeper, though it has long known "him; but the dog will wag its tail when it has in "its body the javelin (*hurled at it by its angry "master*)."

Or this on

"*Wealth is the source of many sorrows*" (p. 181):

"Gathering it together is trouble, and even so "the guarding of resplendent wealth is severe "trouble. If the guarded heap diminish, it is "trouble. If it perish, it is trouble. Wealth is "trouble's very dwelling-place!"

Or this on

"*The good are grateful; the base ungrateful and "malignant*" (p. 232):

"The good attach themselves to those that have "done them one act of kindness, and forgive a "hundred wrongs that arise. The base receive "seven hundred benefits, but one wrong will turn "them all to evil."

It would be unfair to dismiss this book merely with the opinion of one who has read the translations with peculiar pleasure, which has been heightened by a knowledge of the Kurral. The critical apparatus which Dr. Pope has supplied will appeal to all students of Tamil, and increase the expectation with which all await the production of the first real lexicon of high Tamil from the accomplished editor. Out of the wealth of his knowledge he has in these two books introduced a real stimulus towards the acquirement of the Tamil language, and therein has done a good work for India. In his own words: "His "aim in this work has been simply to introduce "Tamil thoughts to English students. We need to "understand one another, and love one another, if "we are to be of any mutual benefit. He who "knows and loves 'sweet' Tamil may come to know "and love those to whom it is so dear, and then to "be known and loved by them." This is the attitude which ought to be taken up by English students of the marvellous languages and literatures of India; if it were more often and more cordially assumed how soon the mutual reproaches of aliens cast at each other would be of no weight between Englishmen and Indians.

It need only be added that the Clarendon Press at Oxford has produced this book with its usual excellence, and thus rendered another service to Indian scholarship. I am tempted to quote Dr. Pope's words, especially for his ungrudging testimony to one of that little appreciated class, readers and correctors for the press. "I have gratefully to "acknowledge," he says, (p. xlvii) "the liberal "assistance of the Secretary of State for India in "Council, as formerly in the case of the Kurral. "The Delegates of the Clarendon Press procured "type especially for the book, and made the arrange- "ments by which this Tamil classic is issued with a "typographical accuracy hardly ever attained in a "similar work. To them my most grateful thanks "are due. His Highness the Mahárájá of Travan- "core has also subscribed liberally to the work. To "the skill, patience, and unwearied zeal of Mr. "Pembrey, Oriental reader to the Clarendon Press, "it is mainly due that no table of errata is needed "to a work so complicated and difficult."

A NEW PERSIAN DICTIONARY.

A Comprehensive Persian-English Dictionary. Including the Arabic words and phrases to be met with in Persian literature, being Johnson and Richardson's Persian, Arabic, and English Dictionary

revised, enlarged, and entirely reconstructed. By F. STEINGASS, Ph.D., of the University of Munich, author of the Students' Arabic-English Dictionary and of the English-Arabic Dictionary. Published under the patronage of the Secretary of State for India in Council. (London: W. H. Allen & Co. Price £3 3s.)

IF Sanskrit may be called the Latin of India, we may with equal justice name Persian the French. What Greek was in the Eastern half of the Roman Empire, what French is in modern Europe, that has Persian been in India—the language of elegance and culture and the medium of diplomatic communication. The advantages of a knowledge of this language were well known in the days when the East India Company was winning an Empire in India, and the office of Persian Secretary to Government at the beginning of this century was one of no small trust and importance. Through his hands passed all overt communications with Native States, as well as the valuable correspondence with native agents of the Government. A mass of documents of the latter kind is still preserved at Calcutta, and were it explored it could not fail to throw much light on the political events of a most important period in Indian history. But, however this may be, Persian will still be studied for the sake of its own literature, while a knowledge of it will be of the greatest use to anyone concerned with Northern India, and wishing to master the composite language of its people.

Now, Persian itself is a composite language. Just as the Norman Conquest of England broke down the inflections of Anglo-Saxon, and by the addition of numerous words to its vocabulary formed a new language from the fusion of the two elements, so did the Arabic conquest with the language of Persia. But, more than this, the Arabic conquest was the victory of a religion and a theology. Persian thought was thoroughly imbued with Islám, and a knowledge of the language of the Koran was rendered a necessity.

A small acquaintance with the most generally read Persian books will bring out the fact that in any Persian dictionary the Arabic element must be reckoned with. Apart from single words which would naturally find a place, as much as the numerous Romance words in English, there are whole sentences of Arabic, quotations from the Koran and the Traditions, and allusions to these sources, unintelligible without a knowledge of the originals. The difficulty at once arises as to how much shall be included, and the solution is by no means easy. As the author of the work before us remarks: "Sooner "or later the student of Persian must become a "student of Arabic also, if he aspires to take rank "as a Persian scholar of real eminence." However, he hopes to satisfy the ordinary reader of the usual text-books with what he has given, and numerous Arabic phrases are included. But even this is unsatisfactory. To take the first book of the Gulistán alone, we doubt much if anyone unacquainted with Arabic would find enough help to understand the Arabic verses contained in it. In fact, the issue of the matter is that the student cannot too soon make himself acquainted with Arabic grammar and derivations, and learn to use an Arabic dictionary. He will then be learning principles instead of isolated examples, and after all the scientific method is the easiest in the end, for no memory can retain the vast vocabulary of Arabic unless the derived forms are viewed, not as individuals, but as members of a system grouped about their root.

These difficulties, arising from the Arabic element in Persian, are comparatively straightforward and capable of solution; but they are not the only troubles that beset the lexicographer. In reality the time is not yet ripe for a complete Persian dictionary. It would appear an axiom that, until we know what the authors of a literature really wrote, we cannot set about compiling a lexicon of their language. Now Persian literature is conspicuous for the want of critical texts. With the exception of certain well-known books that have been critically edited in Europe, the student is dependent on lithographed editions or manuscripts, which offer the most irreconcilable divergencies. While Sanskrit has been the care of an army of well-trained scholars, and its texts have been made the subject of scientific criticism, so that Sanskrit lexicography has reached a high degree of excellence, the really qualified labourers at Persian, on the other hand, are few, and the results scanty. Hence it is that dictionary after dictionary reproduces a number of words, sometimes of impossible formation, that are unsupported by examples and are often due entirely to the blundering of copyists. The genesis of these words is sufficiently simple. The copyist misreads a word, with which he is unfamiliar or which is obscurely written, he feels bound to make some sense of it and accordingly invents a meaning; and the next lexicographer incorporates bogus word and signification in his columns. The author of the present work has done well to mark many of these suspicious words as "unsupported by examples," and no doubt some day, when the ideal dictionary is written, a goodly number will no longer cumber the page.

Among words of this type is a numerous class labelled "Zend and Pazend." It would be too long to enter into the intricate problems arising out of this subject, which Darmesteter has so admirably set forth in his *Etudes Iraniennes*, but we had hardly expected to see such hybrid combinations as *jagtepunistan* appear again in a Persian lexicon. It is surely sufficiently established that these ideograms were never pronounced as they are written, but that the Semitic form stood for and was read as its corresponding Persian stem, with the addition of the Persian termination pronounced as expressed in writing. Thus this word was written yaktatun-tan, and read navishtan. It is time then that words of this sort were banished.

It was not to be expected that the author would concern himself with the dialects, but perhaps the well-known dialect poem of Hafiz might have been provided for. On the other hand, a useful addition has been made in the inclusion of many modern words and phrases marked as "modern colloquialisms," extracted from such recent books as the reigning Shah's diaries. Some of these words read oddly enough, and perhaps the names of Parisian

streets would not be recognizable at first sight in Persian characters.

In conclusion, the author admits that his work is not and cannot be complete, and he very justly says that the only means to that end is a combination of scholars working with one aim. Meantime, we may recommend his work to the student as the most convenient substitute available. It only remains to say that the printing is good, and the volume is moderate and handy in size and bulk.

EARLY INDIAN HISTORY.

Ancient India, 2000 *B.C.*–800 *A.D.* By ROMESH CHUNDER DUTT, C.I.E., I.C.S. "Epochs of Indian History" Series. (Longmans and Co., 1893. Price 2s. 6d.)

THE new series of small volumes on Indian history, to which allusion was made in the last number of INDIA, begins well with an admirable sketch of ancient India by that well-known scholar, Mr. Romesh Chunder Dutt. Personally, I am no lover of little historical handbooks, believing that a constant study of handbooks is apt to prevent due attention being paid to the study of history. Short cuts to knowledge conduce to superficiality, and it is better to study one primary authority, even if it only illustrates a limited period, than to saturate young minds with secondary information. The educational value of the study of history lies in its instruction in the weighing of evidence, and the parrot-like acceptance of the judgments of others on historical questions weakens the reasoning power and tends to reduce the learning of history into the committal of long strings of dates and facts to memory without perceiving their inner meaning. Yet before students can be ready to study history from primary sources, they must gather a general idea of the sequence of events, and it is for this purpose that most of the historical handbooks are compiled and issued. One of the rudimentary faults to be found in these handbooks or manuals is that, however correct they may be in some portions, they are certain to be deficient in others. And this is inevitable. The history of India is not to be compared with the history of England or of France, but rather with that of Europe, and it is almost impossible that any man, however learned, should have an equal grasp of the early Hindu history, of the Muhammadan history, and of the story of the various European settlers, which has ended in the supremacy of British rule. Under these circumstances, Mr. John Adam of Pachaiyappa's College, Madras, is well advised in projecting, and Messrs. Longman in publishing, a series of "Epochs of Indian History," in which specialists shall deal with the most striking periods of Indian history.

Some of the writers employed on this series are not known as historical students. Mr. Rees and the learned editor himself have not yet made a reputation as authorities on the Muhammadans and Dravidians in India, though the latter has shown himself well equipped for his work in his work for the Maine Society of Madras, which was noticed in the last number of INDIA. It is otherwise with Mr. J. S. Cotton, whose volume on the British Power will be eagerly welcomed, and with the two eminent Indian scholars, Mr. Romesh Chunder Dutt and Mr. Justice Kashinath Trimbak Telang, who have undertaken to write on Ancient India and the Maráthás. Mr. Romesh Chunder Dutt, whose work is just issued, as the fore-runner of the series, is well and favourably known in the world of research and of letters. A distinguished Bengal civilian, who received part of his training at University College, London, and passed the competitive examination for the Covenanted Civil Service as far back as 1869, he unites the advantage of a knowledge of Western methods of accurate research with an insight into the genius of his race, which no foreigner can hope to rival. Fortunately he has not allowed the absorbing nature of his duties to occupy the whole of his time, and has made leisure to devote to history and literature. Mr. Romesh Chunder Dutt's principal work is his well-known "History of Civilization in Ancient India," which showed such a thorough grasp of an exceedingly difficult subject as to at once establish his fame as an authority. This work is the basis of the little volume under review, and it is not the least of its merits that it may induce some readers to consult and study the larger book. I am glad to be able to announce, on the writer's own authority, that a new and revised edition of his *magnum opus* will soon be published.

In the present volume, which only contains 188 pages of text, and is written in such a pleasant fashion that even the busiest of men can make time to read it, the history of Ancient India is divided into five epochs, namely—(i.) the Vedic Age, B.C. 2000-1400; (ii.) the Epic Age, B.C. 1400-1000; (iii.) the Rationalistic Age, B.C. 1000-320; (iv.) the Buddhist Age, B.C. 320-A.D. 400; and (v.) the Puranic Age, A.D. 400-800. Owing to the peculiar nature of Sanskrit literature, there are comparatively few historical facts and still fewer precise dates known in this vast expanse of years. History, in its scientific treatment, finds no place in Sanskrit literature; there was no ancient Hindu Thucydides or Polybius; even in its legendary treatment, the Aryans of the East produced no compeers to Herodotus or Livy. The great Sanskrit literature contains much religion, philosophy, poetry, and even natural and mathematical science, but it found no place for history. And it therefore follows that the history of Ancient India has to be constructed by deductions from casual remarks and statements in works devoted to other subjects. There is a little help to be gained from the study of coins, from a few inscriptions, such as the edicts of Asoka, and from the records of Alexander's invasion and the Greek connection with India; but practically, with this slight assistance, the early history of India has to be extracted from the religious, poetical, and philosophical works of the early sages and priests. Naturally, more light is to be found on the manners and customs of the people than on the actual sequence of events. Mr. Romesh Chunder Dutt wisely called his great book the "History of Civilization in Ancient India," not the "History of Ancient India," for the actual known facts of that history could be compressed into too few pages to make a book at all. In the little volume under review he has followed the same course, and there is more upon the religion, literature, and civili-

zation of the ancient Hindus than upon their history. In this he has done wisely. He has not made his material bear too much, and has not tried to build up a monumental work of fanciful history on an insufficient foundation.

The few facts he has at his disposition he has used most wisely, and has brought home by a free use of European analogies the salient features of ancient Indian history. Fortunately he has a very competent knowledge of European history, and his parallels are drawn with judgment. His comparison of India, just before the rise of Buddhism, to the Greek world after the death of Alexander, is exceedingly striking. He points out that "outside Greece proper, Macedon, "Egypt, and the whole of Western Asia, wore the "livery of Greek civilization, religion and literature," though the actual admixture of Greek colonists might be small, and that in the same way all India became Hinduized, though the Aryans themselves were but few in Bengal, Orissa, and India south of the Kistna river, not numerous in South and East Behar, Málwá, Gujarát, and the Deccan, and only really strong in Northern India. The ascendancy of the great Magadha Empire is compared to the Roman Empire, and Asoka's adoption of Buddhism as a State religion to the recognition of Christianity by Constantine. His finest comparison is, however, of the Puranic period, as he terms it, with the history of mediæval Europe. Like all historical analogies, it is, as Mr. Dutt acknowledges, somewhat misleading, but there is a striking vein of truth in it, and it will bear quotation, as an illustration of the author's method and style.

"The parallel between Hindu history and European history," he says, "extends further than "would appear at first sight. The supreme power "passed from the rulers of Magadha to the emperors "of Kanouj and Ujjain in the fifth and succeeding "centuries, but like the later Roman emperors they "had to battle against hordes of barbarian invaders "to save their country and their civilization. The "war went on for centuries, and races of barbarians "settled down in the West and South of India, and "adopted Hindu manners, religion, and civilization. "But the crisis came, and ancient Hindu rule was "at last swept away from Northern India in the "eighth century. Ancient Hindu history terminates "at this date. Dark ages followed in India as in "Europe, and the history of Northern India in the "ninth and tenth centuries is a perfect blank. Towards the close of the tenth century, a new power "arose on the ruins of ancient civilization in Europe "and in India; the feudal barons in Europe, and "the Rájput barons in India. These new Rájput "chiefs stepped into the vacant thrones of ancient "and polished but effete nations, and adopted the "Hindu religion and civilization, even as the "mediæval kings and conquerors of Europe embraced the Christian faith. And the new defenders "of Hinduism and of Christianity had to fight in "India and in Europe against the same rising power, "*viz.*, the Muhammadans. But here the parallel "ends. After centuries of warfare the Christian "knights beat back the Moslems from France, and "from Spain, and from Austria. The Rájput chiefs "of India offered an equally brave, but not an "equally successful, resistance; they struggled and "they fell; and Hindu independence and national "life terminated with the conquest of India by the "Muhammadans" (pp. 10, 11).

In conclusion, I may be permitted to strongly recommend Mr Romesh Chunder Dutt's book on a higher ground than its mere historical value. His hearty patriotism is as clearly revealed as his historical ability, and should help to rouse the growing enthusiasm for historical research among educated Indians. They have left this work too much to be done by aliens hitherto, who cannot possibly have their qualifications. Let them only learn the true and scientific methods from masters like the author of this book, and the complaint that the Hindu intellect is unsuited for historical research will soon be of no account. And, by-the-bye, as a little parting criticism, does not Mr. Dutt believe in the authenticity of the Asoka inscription described in the *Indian Antiquary* last year as descovered in Mysore? He makes no mention of it on pp. 115, 116, and terminates Asoka's empire at the Kistna river. Surely, if this inscription be authentic, his influence extended considerably further south. Perhaps the highest praise a critic can find is his confession that he can only give this one little criticism after the careful reading of a serious work, bearing on so vast a subject as "Ancient India."

The Voice of India:

SELECTIONS FROM THE INDIAN PRESS.

[Extracted from the *Indian Spectator* and *Voice of India.*]

SIR WILLIAM WEDDERBURN'S ELECTION.

The people of India will rejoice to hear that Sir W. Wedderburn, the fifth president of the National Congress and the chairman of the British Committee, has at last won a seat in the British House of Commons. Next to Mr. Dadabhai, Sir William has the best title to be regarded as a member for India; and now that he is in Parliament he will prove a staunch champion of this country, and an invaluable second to the member for Central Finsbury. Sir William has been elected on behalf of Banffshire, defeating Mr. Grant (Liberal Unionist) by more than 700 votes. Sir William's election is a great victory for the Liberal party: but it is a greater triumph for India.—*The Mahratta* (Poona).

We congratulate India and the Liberal party on the admission of Sir W. Wedderburn to the House of Commons. The untiring interest of the Wedderburn family in our country and its affairs, and their liberal traditions, make them the fitting exponents of advanced Indian opinion. Sir D. Wedderburn, the brother of the new member for Banffshire, was indefatigable in his study of Indian questions and presenting their results to the House of Commons at a time when Secretaries of State for India ya[illegible] over their own Budget speeches, and w[illegible] ashamed to reply to remonstrances th[illegible]

"d—d dull." The new member will go into the House of Commons initiated into the mysteries of the Service of whose weakness as well as strength he is abundantly aware. It will not be easy to put him off with awe-striking oracular responses about the needs of the Government of the Queen in India. Of course, when the air of the House of Commons is charged with so much contentious matters as Home Rule and the Newcastle Programme, Indian affairs have no chance; and we are not sorry either. We look with invincible distrust on the meddling of an uninformed English public in Indian affairs; but since a strong phalanx of old-fashioned Anglo-Indian folk have a hearing in Parliament and the country, it is now absolutely necessary that the other side should also begin to speak. No one will more powerfully expound the views, wishes, and hopes of young India—not even Mr. Naoroji himself—than Sir William Wedderburn. And it is a satisfaction to reflect that in the mere political agitation, the new member for Banff will not forget the material interest of his old friends, the agriculturalists, who, after all, are the backbone of our country.—*The Phœnix*. (Karáchi.)

Our countrymen in all parts of India will be highly delighted to learn of the return to Parliament of Sir William Wedderburn, Bart., by the electors of Banffshire. He is one of the warmest friends of Indian progress, and possesses the highest qualifications to enlighten the House of Commons on Indian matters. Nor can the charge of superficial knowledge of India be brought home to him. He spent the greater part of his eventful life in India, and in quick succession filled the various high offices in the gift of the Government. He was intimately acquainted both with the Judicial and the Executive departments of the State. He can therefore speak with authority on Indian affairs. Retired members of the Indian Civil Service are generally very conservative; and most of those who seek a parliamentary distinction throw in their lot with the Conservatives, and in return for all the benefits they received while in India at the cost of the tax-payers' money they only ridicule Indian aspirations from their places in the House. But in Sir William we have a strong champion of our country, one who has taken all along a very deep interest in the amelioration of our condition. The hands of Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji and other friends of India in Parliament will be considerably strengthened by the accession to their ranks of Sir William Wedderburn. Sir William would have been returned in the last General Election had it not been for some untoward incidents. We are glad that he has now won his seat and that his scope of usefulness has been widened.—*The Hindu*. (Madras.)

It is true, Sir William Wedderburn has been elected a Member of Parliament. But will the present Parliament last? That is the anxious thought that occurred to every Indian who heard the news. His election is perhaps more important to India than that of even Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji. [illegible]r he is an Indian official; and therefore not only [illegible]thority on Indian questions but an expert on [illegible]jects. Besides, if we have friends in Parliament, many of them have their hobbies. But Sir William is a man of clear intellect, of pure heart, with full knowledge of Indian affairs, and with all these advantages he has ever nourished in his heart an active sympathy for the people of India. The position of Mr. Naoroji is unique and delicate. He cannot do all that he is naturally inclined to do for India. But Sir William Wedderburn will not be bound by any such considerations. Let every hamlet in India offer up thanksgiving to God for the election of Sir William Wedderburn. They can regard the incident as a choice blessing from above.—*Amrita Bazar Patrika*. (Calcutta.)

Sir William Wedderburn's defeat at the General Election was as unexpected as it was disappointing. But he has had not to wait long for the fulfilment of his aspirations. Sir William has now been elected to represent the constituency of Banffshire. Though he has been ridiculed and reviled by his own countrymen in a discreditable spirit, the sympathies of the people of India are entirely on his side. His honesty and sincerity are above suspicion. His fearlessness in expressing his convictions, however unpleasant to his un-Christian critics, has been sufficiently tested. His profound and genuine sympathy with the hopes and aspirations of new India are well-known. His simplicity of character and generosity of heart need no commendation from us. The joyous feelings evoked by Mr. Dadabhai's election were a little marred by Sir William Wedderburn's defeat. It was felt that Mr. Dadabhai would have to fight single-handed without the support of a man like Sir William Wedderburn, who was closely associated with the administration of the affairs of this Presidency and had, as such, unusual opportunities of making himself conversant with the requirements and hardships of the population at large. The people of India may, therefore, justly congratulate themselves on his election to Parliament. Sir William Wedderburn, Messrs. Dadabhai, Caine, and Schwann, will now be able to stand shoulder to shoulder in Parliament and ventilate Indian questions. Already Mr. Dadabhai has introduced his Bill for the holding of simultaneous examinations for the Civil Service in England and India; and there is no doubt that Sir William Wedderburn's support will be of material help. By an inscrutable decree of Providence, Mr. Bradlaugh was prematurely cut off in the very prime of his life, and at a juncture when he was expected to render valuable services to this country. Would that he were living now! What a solid phalanx of sincere well-wishers and energetic workers all of them would have made! That was, however, not to be. Mr. Bradlaugh departed, but other redoubtable champions have stood up in his place. We wish cordial success to Sir William Wedderburn in his Parliamentary career, and to the high-souled principles which have always animated him in his relations towards the natives of this soil. The taunts, the jibes and jeers of his unscrupulous and un-Christian critics will be soon forgotten, but his good name and fame will endure long in the loving memories of those whose cause he has undertaken to espouse in the spirit of a noble-minded and truth-loving Englishman.—*The Gujarati*. (Bombay.)

THE COUNCILS' REGULATIONS.

The long expected rules for the improvement of the Indian Legislative Councils under the Indian Councils Amendment Act of 1892 have been published; and the speech of his Excellency the Viceroy in the Imperial Legislative Council, held on the 16th of March, supplies the official commentary on those rules. The rules appear to be conceived with extreme caution, if not with downright illiberality; and even a casual reader can see that Government is not yet prepared to lay down binding rules on certain important points. Take, for instance, the question of the strength of the various Councils. Lord Lansdowne assures us that in each case Government have provided by their rules for the appointment of a number of non-official additional members in excess of the minimum determined by the Act, and also to use at once to the utmost the power of increasing the number of additional members in Bengal and the North-Western Provinces. But if the maximum number of additional councillors is to be allowed in Bengal and the North-West Provinces, we fail to see why a similar rule is not applied to Bombay and Madras. It cannot be contended that Bombay and Madras or either of them is less advanced than the North-Western Provinces; and if so, there is no reason why the maximum allowed by the Act should not be made use of in the case of these Presidencies. Perhaps the Local Governments do not like to have their hands bound down in this manner, and the Supreme Government have allowed them to have their own way. But, considered from a public point of view, it must be said to be a mistake. The mere assurance that non-official additional members in excess of the minimum will be appointed is, to say the least, not satisfactory. It is evident that Government cannot go below the minimum laid down by the Act. The question was, What number above the minimum Government fixes for the present, and whether it was prepared to allow the maximum? We are, therefore, sorry to find that the Madras and the Bombay rules are silent on this point. The Viceroy admits that, with the handful of seats at the disposal of Government, it is impossible to divide the Provinces either in respect of geographical areas or in respect of the different communities which inhabit them, in such a manner as to distribute the representation equitably or to make it really effectual. If a real representation, or, to use the Viceroy's phrase, a *bonâ fide* attempt of securing representatives of the different sections of the Indian communities, be thus impossible with the limited number of seats at the disposal of Government, can it, we ask, be secured by withholding even that limited maximum number in the case of Madras and Bombay? The example of Bengal and the North-Western Provinces may perhaps be followed in Bombay; but we do not understand why it should at all have been left unsettled in the rules! It is a defect which the sooner it is cured the better. It is ridiculous to refuse to Bombay and Madras the privilege which has been granted to the North-Western Provinces and Bengal.—*The Mahratta* (Poona).

His Excellency the Viceroy's speech at the Supreme Legislative Council, on the 16th instant, as a forerunner of a scheme which could not but create disappointment in the minds of those who had been led to expect great things out of the remaining clause in the India Councils Act, providing for the introduction of elective principles into the constitution of our Legislative Councils, has done much to temper the bitter pangs of a frustrated hope. The rules framed under the clause were not hurled at us in triumph with remarks akin to these: Agitators, see how we have befooled you. After years of clamour; both in this country and in England, you got the Indian Councils Act; and right glad were you to find that your clamours had succeeded so well, but your jubilations were too premature, and behold now, how we have outwitted you. The Viceroy in his speech was full of sympathy with the natural aspirations of the people. True, we asked for bread, and we got a stone; but much of the bitterness has been removed by the way in which it has been served to us. His Excellency was aware of the limited nature of the reform, and he said: "It is not unlikely that "our proposals will disappoint the expectation of "those who would gladly see us travel further and "faster along the path of reform." And can our people be blamed, if they were led to expect better results from the Indian Councils Act? How can we forget the assurances that our people received, from both sides of the House, about the scope of the reform sought to be introduced by the Indian Councils Act? It was the Conservative Government which gave us the Indian Councils Act; and the Liberals, as Oppositionists, were anxious to show that they were not behind their opponents in their desire to do justice to the natural aspirations of our people. When the Act was yet a Bill, and before the House of Commons for its final reading, Mr. Gladstone would not bear the idea of an amendment being proposed, even by a member of his party, to a measure introduced by his opponents, because, he said, "It would be well that the people of India "should understand that united views on this ques- "tion substantially prevail in this House."—*The Behar Herald* (Bankipur).

The Voice of Britain on India:

SELECTIONS FROM THE BRITISH PRESS ON INDIAN MATTERS.

THE COUNCILS REGULATIONS.

The new constitutions of the Provincial Legislative Councils, as expanded under Lord Cross's Act, form extremely interesting documents. The problem placed before the Governors of the Indian Presidencies and Provinces was how to adapt the intentionally vague provisions of the statute to the different requirements of their respective territories. A large discretion was allowed to each, subject to the two conditions which Lord Lansdowne made it clear that he would, as Viceroy, enforce from all. These conditions were, first, a *bonâ fide* effort to give effect to the representative principle; and, second, the firm retention of the initiative and practical authority in the hands of the Provincial Executive

Governments. The task was one of considerable delicacy, and not unattended with risks of failure both from excess and from defect. But it was a task for which Lord Lansdowne was by temperament and training peculiarly suited, and it is evident that the reformed constitutions of all the Councils have been worked out under the influence of a central guiding hand. Indeed, their unity of design forms at first sight the most salient feature of the whole, and it is only upon closer scrutiny that the significance of their local differentiations becomes apparent. The cardinal principles contained within Lord Cross's Act, principles which no previous paramount power in India would have ventured to adopt, and which must profoundly influence the constitutional history of India under British rule, have now become the actual basis of Indian legislation.

The two sets of rules for the election of members for Bengal and for the North-Western Provinces, which reached England last week, illustrate alike the uniformity of their general plan and their points of divergence. In both cases the representative members are not elected direct to the Legislative Councils, but are "recommended" to the Lieutenant-Governor for appointment to those Councils; the technical distinction, although judicious, will have little practical effect, for it is evident, alike from Lord Lansdowne's words and from the provincial rules themselves, that no Indian Governor will disregard such a recommendation, except on an occasion of clear and clamant necessity, which it is difficult to foresee.—*The Times* (Indian Affairs), May 6th.

LORD ROBERTS' SPEECH TO THE LONDON CHAMBER OF COMMERCE.

What is all this but a fresh statement of the truth that there is no rest and no finality in human affairs? The new India is not as the old one, and its very growth in prosperity and in security has been a growth in difficulties and in perils as well. The problem in India is as the problem everywhere else —a problem of the adjustments of measures to events. Our business is not to look too far ahead, but to understand events as they arise, and to be always up to date in the development of our great dependency. India is changing every day—every returning Viceroy and great administrator repeats the same tale. They differ only in their views of the benefit of some of the changes, and of the policy of our methods of adaptation. They are of two schools —not to mention the other half-dozen. One ever whispers "progress," and the other "as you were." The one thing in which they agree is the fact of change. We have not held India all these years for nothing. It has come into the heritage of our countless labours of administration on its behalf. Sir William Hunter warns us—and of late years it has been his constant theme—that our educational system has created a kind of aristocracy of intellect entirely after our own model. The rising young men have been to our schools and colleges, have studied from our class books, have learned to adopt the British view as to the ends of government, and the principles of legislation and of public life. What are we to do for them, and with them? They are awaiting our signal to begin to live according to the new ideals. Beyond and below them lie the countless millions of their countrymen who, in some degree, await their signal in turn, though with an impatience tempered by the silence and inertia of the East. The trained minority ask for a larger share of influence and of power, and our wisdom will be shown in meeting them more than half way. To deny them would be not only to stultify ourselves, but it might have the far more serious effect of driving them into disaffection. Successive Viceroys, whatever their difference in policy, have pledged us to govern the peoples of India, not only for themselves, but by themselves, according to the measure of their intelligence and their powers. Lord Northbrook was, perhaps, most explicit as to our duty to govern for them. Lord Lytton went much farther in admitting their claim to share largely with us in the labours of administration. It was founded, he said, on the highest justice, and it was recognised by the Government of India as binding in its honour, and consistent with all the aims of its policy. Lord Ripon and Lord Dufferin could hardly have failed to say as much. Lord Dufferin's successor has found it impossible to put back the hands of the clock. Lord Ripon's definition of our difficulty goes to the very root of its nature. We have to combine our tolerance and our respect for a free press, and a free right of public meeting, to say nothing of a complete system of the highest education, with an administration practically despotic.—*Daily News*, May 25th.

Lord Roberts is well inspired in laying emphasis upon the necessity for convincing our Eastern subjects not only of the justice and beneficence, but also of the strength and permanence of our rule. Indeed, this may almost be said to be the first condition of empire. A single repulse may outweigh in the Eastern mind a thousand pieces of helpful legislation; a single vacillation of policy may nullify a whole generation of firmness. The advantage of a sense of permanence which Lord Roberts gave is not the chief among many, but it is an important one, namely, the possible unlocking of the hoards of gold and silver in the country, and the investment of it in productive enterprises. The Indian—except the money-lender—knows of no way of saving except by heaping up gold and silver in a strong-box, of burying it in the ground, or of converting it into ornaments; and, according to the calculation quoted by Lord Roberts, during the forty years ending in 1889 the colossal sum of 340 millions of gold and silver was withdrawn from circulation for these purposes. If confidence in the stability of the British Ráj caused even half of that sum to be invested, the inhabitants of India would have such a "stake in the country" as to make them by far the most interested and enthusiastic defenders of the present state of things.—*Daily Chronicle*, May 25th.

Lord Roberts spoke with just pride of the approval with which the measures carried out during his command-in-chief had been met by such representative communities as those of Lahore, Lucknow, Calcutta, and Bombay. Three of these are great commercial communities, and as such are especially alive to the importance not only of the British Raj, but of making the people of India believe that it is

to be permanent. And here Lord Roberts touched upon a point of special interest just now, when not the military but the financial aspect of India is chiefly before the eyes of men, and of the London Chamber of Commerce above all. Make your rule in India a permanent thing, acknowledged as such by the humblest native—so, in effect, Lord Roberts said—and you will strike a great blow at the pernicious habit of hoarding gold and silver, which began in troublous times and which still governs the conduct of very large numbers of natives. In thirty years, according to Mr. O'Conor, the Financial Assistant-Secretary to the Government of India, no less than 113 millions of gold has been hoarded in India, and just double that quantity of silver. A quarter, or even a tithe of that gold, if it could be recovered and put into circulation, would settle the silver question and make the labours of Lord Herschell's committee quite unnecessary. Unfortunately, it is not possible to recover the gold, and hence that committee is not superfluous, and all India, as well as the City of London, is eagerly waiting for its report. Both Mr. Gladstone and Lord Randolph Churchill have expressed a great anxiety for its appearance; and yet it does not appear. It is to be hoped that, great as are the inherent difficulties of the subject, and great as is the probability of a sharp division of opinion among the members of the committee, the report will not be much longer delayed, whatever it may be. As to Lord Roberts, he, of course, does not touch upon any such vexed question as currency; but he does not hesitate to speak up in favour of a generous treatment of the Services, on the efficiency of which the maintenance of the Indian Empire depends. No one can deny that their claims are extremely strong, and that, if through economical causes entirely beyond their control their salaries have permanently fallen in value to a point much below the amounts they originally bargained for, they have an equitable right to a revision of their scales of pay.—*The Times*, May 25th.

Gossip.

ABOUT PERSONS AND BOOKS.

MESSRS. LONGMANS are about to publish a new and revised edition of Sir George Chesney's well-known book on "Indian Polity."

THE *Daily Graphic* recently contained an interesting sketch of the career of Mr. Murzban, the well-known municipal architect of Bombay, with a portrait.

THE Máhárájá of Bhaunagar is to receive the honorary degree of LL.D. from the University of Cambridge in recognition of his services to education.

THE May number of the *Journal of the Society of Arts*, published on 5th May, contains the text of Sir Juland Danvers' paper on "Indian Manufactures: "their Present State and Prospects" noticed in our last issue.

"THE Deccan College Lectures," First Series, 1892, published by Mr. V. Kalyanaram Iyer of Madras, contains four exceedingly interesting lectures. Two of these deserve more than a passing notice, and will be reviewed at length, *viz.*, "Some "Indian Aspects of Political Economy," by Ráo Bahádur M. G. Ranade, and "Gleanings from Maráthá Chronicles," by Mr. Justice Telang.

IT is rumoured that when Sir A. Macdonell succeeds Sir Charles Elliott as Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal, Mr. C. J. Lyall will become Chief Commissioner of the Central Provinces. In that case, Mr. H. J. S. Cotton, Chief Secretary to the Government of Bengal, and author of "New India," is likely to be appointed Secretary to the Government of India in the Home Department, in the place of Mr. Lyall.

THE first number has been published of the *Chaitanya Library Journal*, edited by Rev. Alex. Tomory, M.A. The new magazine is intended to contain lectures held in connection with the Chaitanya Library, articles of general interest, etc. The greater part of the first number is occupied with a learned and interesting lecture by Sir Alex. Miller, legal member of the Viceroy's Council. The subscription is R.1 a year, and can be remitted to the treasurer, Chaitanya Library, 83, Beadon Street, Calcutta.

MR. F. C. DANVERS, Registrar and Superintendent of Records at the India Office has published a "Re- "port to the Secretary of State for India in Council "on the Portuguese Records relating to the East "Indies, contained in the *Archivo do Torre do Tombo* "and the Public Libraries at Lisbon and Evora." It is more than time that some attention was paid to the history of the Portuguese in India by Englishmen, and Mr. Danvers is doing good service to India by his investigation into the Portuguese records.

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